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CHRONICQUE

DE LA TRAÏSON ET MORT

DE

RICHART DEUX ROY DENGLETERRE,

MISE EN LUMIÈRE

D'APRÈS UN MANUSCRIT DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE PARIS,

AUTREFOIS CONSERVÉ DANS L'ABBAYE DE S. VICTOR;

AVEC LES VARIANTES FOURNIES PAR DIX AUTRES MANUSCRITS, DES ÉCLAIRCISSEMENTS,

ET UN GLOSSAIRE,

PAR BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, F.S.A.

À LONDRES:
AUX DÉPENS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ.
M.DCCC.XLVI.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

The Editor regrets, that, owing to his residence on the Continent whilst these sheets were going through the press, and the consequent impossibility of his receiving (excepting at a heavy expense) a second proof, a few errors have crept in. They consist in the substitution of the word *on* for the barbaric preposition *ou* (*au*) in several places in the early part of the Chronicle, which the context will make apparent; of the omission of the word *tallagio* after tollagio, p. 181, sixth line from the bottom, and the omission of the proper accents to several French words amongst the English notes.

In addition, page xxxv, line 16, for 'Philip the good' read 'Philip the bold;' page xlv, last line but one, for 'MS. Reg. c. 1,' read 'MS. Reg. 13. c. 1;' page 139, note [2], for 'Duke of Rutland' read 'Earl of Rutland;' page 204, note [2], line 2, for '1400' read '1410;' page 254, note [2], for 'villeins or naifs,' read 'villeins and naifs or niefs;' and Index, for 'Philippe-le-Bel' read 'Philippe-le-Hardi.'

He wishes to remark, that to the list of King Richard's cognizances, p. 194, should be added the ostrich feathers of his father the Black Prince, two of which are emblazoned on King Richard's great seal appended to his will, which is preserved in the Chapter-House; and that there is a *possibility* that the winner of the horse-race at Calais, referred to at p. 136, was the gallant, but profligate, Sir John Arundel.

It may be interesting to record that in this reign Sir Thomas Haxey, a Rector of a Parish, sat in the House of Commons. He is expressly described as a priest in Madox, Formulare Anglicanum, p. 326. Consult Hallam's Middle Ages, III. 113, 7th ed.

Also, (with reference to page 173,) that the number of pennons formerly borne was exceedingly numerous; witness the following original document:—

'Charles Duc d'Orleans ordonne a Pierre Premer de payer a Jean Martin 273 frcs 12 sols six deniers tourn[s] pour plusieurs parties de toilles, papiers dor et dargent, cendaulx et autres choses, pour faire 4200 pannonceaux et 2 grands etentarts, ou estoit ecrits Justice, d'un cote en or, et de l'autre en argent, pour etre distribue a son armee qui marchoit contre celui qui se dit Duc de Bourgoyne. 26 Jan. 1411 [1412].'— MS. 5683 Bibl. Leber, Rouen.

Mr. Webb obligingly informs me, that the modern Welsh air bearing the title of 'Sweet Richard' is derived from an ancient one of a lofty and beautiful character, containing passages of great dignity combined with tenderness; that as the title in that language, which bears resemblance in some degree to the words 'Sweet

Richard,' and has apparently been corrupted into it, actually signifies 'Are you Richard?' (or for Richard?) this composition has been assigned by some to the period of Richard III., when Richmond landed in Wales to oppose him, but by others with, perhaps, greater probability, to the time of Richard II., to whom, as to their princes in general, the Welsh were faithfully attached. In this view of the subject it would be such a pass-word as might be expected to be current among his devoted adherents, and would form a very characteristic theme for a bardic air. Owyn Glyndour, who took up Richard's cause, and maintained it to his dying day, was likely enough to have patronised the circulation of this air.

PREFACE.

THE history of England for the end of the fourteenth century and the former half of the fifteenth is so interwoven with that of France, that it is impossible to form a just conception of English affairs without a knowledge of the state of our neighbours: and even the study of our own history for that period should not be confined exclusively to the meagre chronicles of our native contemporary historians, for the French chroniclers were fully as impartial observers, making due allowance for national prejudice, and often as well acquainted with our affairs, as either the Monk of Evesham, Walsingham, Otterbourne, Hardyng, or Peter de Ickham.

Necessity to consult the French chroniclers.

This ancient French Chronicle, now first published in England, has of late been consigned to comparative oblivion, or only known to the public by extracts from a late and defective copy, which have tended to impair its authenticity. A portion of it was translated towards the close of the fifteenth century, and it is the received and sole authority for many more events in our history than is generally imagined. It does not appear that a single copy of this chronicle exists in any of our public libraries ; and the author's reflections on Henry IV., or rather the reflections suggested by the events which he narrates, are sufficient to account for its banishment from England during the ascendancy of the House of Lancaster. It is remarkable how completely the majority of our chroniclers of this period were subservient to the

Subserviency of the English chroniclers to the House of Lancaster.

House of the Red Rose; only two fragments of Yorkist chroniclers appear to have reached us.

The chronicle published by Caxton in 1482;

This chronicle must have been known to Caxton, as he published a condensed translation of the opening part of the chronicle, and the Exton narrative of the death of Richard, in his addition to Hygden's Polycronicon in 1482.

by Robert Fabyan;

A literal translation of the opening part of the chronicle will be found in 'Robert Fabyan's New Chronicles' for the year 1396-7;[1] as well as of the *denouement* of the tragedy, and of our author's account of the conspiracy which was planned at the chambers of the Abbot of Westminster.

by Holinshed.

In the third volume of Holinshed's Chronicle, page 488, (original edition without date,) this chronicle is again quoted, with this remark in the margin, 'Out of an old French pamphlet belonging to John Stowe;' and in the Harleian Library, MS. No. 6219, will be found, amongst the collection of John Stow's papers,

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[1] 'In this xx. yere of King Richarde and moneth of February, the King holdynge a sumptuouse feest in Westmynster Hall, many of the sowdiours which were newly comen from the town of Brest foresayd presyd into the hall and kept a roume[a] together. Which cõpany whan the Duke of Glouceeter hadde beholdyn, and frayned[b] and knowen what men they were, and how that sayde towne was given uppe cõtrary his knowledge, was therwith in his mind sore dyscontented; in soo moche that, whan the Kynge was entryd his chaumber and fewe nere unto hym, he sayd unto the Kynge, "Syr, have ye not seen the felaues that satte in so great noũbre to day in your halle at such a table?" And the King answeryd "Yes," and axyd of ye Duke what cõpany it was? To whom the Duke answeryd and sayde, "Syr, these ben your sowdyours comyn from Brest, and as nowe haue nothynge to take to, nor know how to shyft for theyr lyuyngs, and the rather for that, as I am enfourmyd, they haue ben before tyme euyll payed." Than the Duke, apperceyuynge the Kynge's mysledyng by certeyne personys about him, entendynge therof reformacion for the weale of the Kynge and his realme, callyd unto hym ye Abbot of Seynt Albonys, and ye Abbot and Pryour of Westmynster,' &c. Robert Fabyan's New Chronicles. Edn. Ellis, 1811.

[a] *Rum*, space; German origin.

[b] *Fregnan*, fræyn, past participle, 'inquired.'

the draught, in his own hand-writing, of a translation of this chronicle as far as the termination of the duel at Coventry, and the sentence upon the two combatants. It is headed, 'Here begynnth the historie of the destruction of good King Richard the Second, late of England, late sonne of y^e^ Prynce of Wales, fro the year 1396 till y^e^ yeare 1399, translated out of Frenche in to Englyshe.' Stow has rendered the sense very literally, and has retained several of the French expressions placed over those words of the translation of which he appears to have had any doubt. He has given a translation of the heads to the different paragraphs or chapters; as 'How y^e^ Duke of Gloucester, King Richard's uncle, y^e^ Abbot of St. Albon, and the Priour of Westmynster^e^ dyned together, and of y^e^ avision which they reported to the said Duke.' 'How King Richard rode all night according arranged with his brother. How y^e^ Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, was taken and sent to y^e^ Tower of London.' This circumstance proves that he must have followed the MS. marked 10212 [3 b], Bibl. du Roi, which is the only MS. containing such headings. I suspect that Stow had not, from some now unknown cause, accomplished the translation of the whole of the chronicle; for I have only found the beginning and the latter part of it quoted by any of our early chroniclers. Holinshed also quotes, when relating King Richard's journey to Ireland, 'a French pamphlet which belongeth to Master John Dee;' which is the copy of Creton's History, now preserved at Lambeth Palace, which bears Dr. John Dee's signature, and the date, 1575.

The chronicle translated by John Stow.

Creton's metrical History of Richard.

Of Holinshed's chronicle our great Dramatist availed himself; and it is interesting to remark how very faithfully he has retained the sense, and frequently the very words of our chronicle, insomuch

Shakespere followed Holinshed's Chronicle.

that it has been remarked that he is the best historian of this period. It is remarkable, however, that Shakespere does not appear to have been aware of the extreme youth of Richard's Queen, nor to have read the graphic account of their parting interview, or his genius would surely have seized and immortalized such a subject.

The chronicle known to Daniel, Hall, and Hayward;

and quoted by Carte.

This chronicle is moreover quoted in Daniel's History of England, continued by John Trussell, and published in 1650; and it is quoted more fully and literally by Hall and Hayward, as also by Carte, who, in his History of England, published in 1748-52, folio, ii. 642, gives the title of the chronicle and the author's name; 'Relation de la prise de Richard II., par Berry Roy d'armes.'

MS. copies of the chronicle extremely numerous on the Continent.

The MS. copies of this chronicle which still exist on the Continent are numerous. I have found two MSS. in the public library of the city of Rouen, which I have copied verbatim: there are, or lately were, eleven others in the Royal Library at Paris; two are preserved in the library of the Duke of Burgundy at Brussels, one in the Library Méjanes at Aix, one in the library of Valenciennes, annexed to the Chronicles of Froissart; and there was one copy in the library of the late Mr. Martin of Palgrave in Suffolk; making in the whole eighteen: and it is suspected that other copies exist in Russia, at Rome, and probably at Leyden, attached to the chronicles of Baudouin d'Avesnes. A detailed notice of the different MSS. is given at the end of the Preface.

The multiplication of copies of this history, and of the metrical history of Creton,[1] gives rise to a

[1] In addition to the two MSS. of Creton's metrical history, translated by Mr. Webb (Archæologia, xx.) there are at least four copies of that poem in the Bibl. du Roi at Paris, Nos. $\frac{1078}{7636}$, $\frac{7213}{7533}$, S F 254^{30}, which are anonymous; and (the smaller MS. of

suspicion that they were not unconnected with a political object; and I think it not unlikely that they were dispersed in France, with a view, by the exposure of the treachery of Henry, to rouse the national spirit to resist the aggressions of the English arms. The chronicle, now first published, commences the history at a much earlier period than the metrical narrative of Creton; and, without undervaluing that interesting performance, it must be allowed that our author's narrative of the events subsequent to the capture of Richard is far more circumstantial, and (as Creton was confessedly then absent) must be more authentic than his account. Moreover, our author is certainly more impartial than was Creton, whose anti-English prejudices are frequently apparent. At the same time it must be acknowledged that there are several anachronisms in the early part of this history, which render it probable that that portion of the work was not written when the events occurred.

They were probably multiplied for political purposes.

The only detailed notice of any of these MSS. that I have been able to discover consists in an article of the Archæologia for the year 1823, vol. xx., written by the Reverend John Webb, M.A., F.S.A., in the shape of a Preface and Notes to his able trans-

The chronicle reviewed by the Rev. John Webb in the Archæologia.

Eustace Deschamps) No. 398 Regius, or Fonds St. Victor, 275, to which Creton's name is attached. The second of these MSS. is referred to by Warton in his History of English Poetry, i. 121, under the title of 'Histoire du Roy Ric^d^. d'Angleterre, et de Maquemore d'Irlande, en ryme.' The last is followed by an epistle in prose, by Creton; from which it appears that he believed Richard to be still alive after Isabel's return to France. It thus commences: 'Ainsi comme vraye amour requiert, à très noble prince et vray catholique Richart d'Angleterre, je, Creton, ton lige serviteur, te envoie cette epistre. Et saches que, en l'estat présent l'yre de mon cueur espandoit mes larmes par mes joes, pensant à ta douloureuse vie.' For the remainder of this document see Archæologia, xxviii., in a communication from Mr. Dillon. Creton was of the respectable family of d'Estourmel, as M. Paulin Paris obligingly informed me, and after he left the Earl of Salisbury became a valet de chambre to the King of France.

lation of Creton's interesting metrical history on the same subject, which led to two or three communications from Thomas Amyott, Esquire, F.S.A., and from Mr. Dillon, which are inserted in the same work. Gaillard, it is true, has given a condensed abstract of the Ambassades MS.; (Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi, Paris, 1787, i. 373;) but he has mixed up with the history information derived from other sources, without informing the reader in what these deviations consist. Probably, however, most persons will coincide with the opinion expressed by Mr. Webb, that documents of such antiquity, and of such value to English history, should be published with scrupulous exactness.[1]

The chronicle reviewed by M. Gaillard.

M. Buchon has given, in his great work on the Chronicles of France, a copy of the MS. No. 9745 [3], Bibl. du Roi, which purports to be written by Jehan le Beau, le Biaux, or le Bel, 'Chanoine de St. Lambert en Liège.' From a careful collation of the various MSS. I am now enabled confidently to state that this MS., although an early, is a very unsatisfactory one; and that the Ambassades MS., which is generally quoted, was written about the year 1570, and is totally unworthy of being considered an authority.[2]

Le Beau's MS. published by the late M. Buchon.

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[1] Archæologia, xx. 3.

[2] I know not why such a preference should have been given to the Ambassades MS. (No. $8\frac{4}{5}\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{6}$ Regius, Bibl. du Roi), except from its beautiful penmanship and extreme legibility. The writing is in letters of form more than a quarter of an inch high each, with accents and punctuations, and without contractions! The whole of the volume was written by the same hand, and on the same paper; and it contains an account of the recapture of a French fort on the coast of Florida from the Spaniards, by Capt. Gourgues in 1567. The MS. is comparatively modern, and full of clerical errors. It represents Richard as setting out from the Tower of London to go to Gravesend, with a 'coronet,' or, according to Mr. Webb, a collar about his neck; whereas he wore a horn, 'cornet,' and was disguised as a 'forester of woods.' That part

Le Beau has condensed the chronicle, and has engrafted upon it many reflections of his own: but, having some knowledge of English affairs, he has ventured upon several alterations of the proper names, calling Fitzwalter 'Fraser,' &c., so that many of them are not to be identified, notwithstanding the editor's attempted explanations; for he has miscalled Oxford 'Elmsford,' Shrewsbury 'Eltham,' &c.[1] This MS. is, however, undoubtedly a distinct translation, and is worthy of notice on account of its ancient style and strong Picardian idiom.

Defects of Le Beau's MS.

Incorrect as the Ambassades MS. undoubtedly is, it does not, however, possess several errors with which Mr. Webb (no doubt from inadvertence) has charged it. It must not be forgotten that that gentleman had only the late Mr. Allen's extracts to refer to, and had never seen the MS.; and it is just to add, he allows that 'this lively and curious narrative seems to have been penned by one who was either present at a great part of what he relates, or had immediate intercourse with many of the actors.'

The Ambassades MS.

In a note, page 46, he says, 'The MS. Ambassades affirms that Scroope, Chancellor of the Exchequer, *carried* the news (of Henry's arrival) to Ireland, which is undoubtedly wrong.' It will be seen that

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of the MS. which gives the account of the capture of Richard is the most correct; it appears to have been copied from the MS. Lebaud, but very carelessly.

The whole MS. has been printed in the second volume of the second series of 'La Revue Retrospective,' Paris, 1835. I was not aware of the fact till this work was in the press.

[1] Monsieur Buchon has also confounded Jean le Beau or le Bel, 'Chanoine de St. Lambert en Liège,' with 'Jehan Lebaud, Licencié en loix, Conseillier du Roy.'

The latter presented the MS. No. $\frac{10212}{3}$, Bibl. du Roi, to the Chancellor Trenel in 1449.

The two MSS. are versions totally different. There was another Lebaud, author of a History of Armorica, and Dean of St. Tugdual de Laval, Almoner to the celebrated Queen Ann of Brittany, who furnished him with the necessary authority to inspect the titles deposited in the chapters. (Michaud, Biog. Universelle.)

Charges of error against the chronicle without foundation.

Scroope *sent* the news to Ireland; the words are, 'Icelluy Messire G. Skroup envoya le plus fort qu'il peust devers le Roy Richart en Irlande, et pour lui faire savoir la venue du duc de Lancastre.' Again, 'Verité est que tantost le chevaucheur que Messire G. Skropt avoit envoyé en Yllande devers le Roi Richart, pour faire savoir que le duc de Lenclaistre estoit arrivé en Angleterre,' &c.

Another of Mr. Webb's objections, that at page 121, will be noticed at the corresponding part of the history.

At page 221, note [r], Mr. Webb remarks, 'The arms of St. Edward,' to wit, 'Azure, over all a cross Or,' are incorrect;' but in four of the more ancient MSS., and in most others, we read, 'Azur a une croiz dor et v. mailles dor;' which exactly agrees with Gwillim. Mr. Webb charges the author of the chronicle with mistaking Maudeleyn for a lord, but (in page 101) he is twice called a priest. A more important error is in part corrected by one of the Rouen MSS. ($Y\frac{15}{13}$) and by MS. 9848 Bibl. du Roi: Gaillard remarks that the Ambassades MS. relates a story of the Queen's intercession with the Earl of Arundel for the life of a chevalier named John Carnailly; whereas the intercession was made with the Duke of Gloucester on behalf of Sir Simon Burley, Richard's tutor and governor. I do not consider that the chronicler meant to assert that the intercession was made to the Earl of Arundel. He states that Richard was complaining of the tyrannical conduct of the three lords (commissioners) in his youth; and I take his meaning to be, that the Earl of Arundel, seeing the Queen so long on her knees before the Duke of Gloucester, made use of the disrespectful language with which he was charged. In the two MSS. above mentioned we

read respectively John and Charles de 'Beruelay,' evidently the French expression for 'Burley,' and which was, no doubt, in the original; for those who have paid any attention to Gothic MSS. will understand how easily the *b* would be misunderstood for *c*, and the *u* for *n*, and the word 'Cerneley' be thus formed.[1] Indeed so much were these copies multiplied, that the original word became eventually lost; for example, Coulbourc (Colnbrook) became successively 'Connileboure,' and (in the Ambassades) 'Caitrebourg;' Oxenforde, 'Hortemeforde;' Mideheet (Maidenhead), 'Mendelnt;' Watlingford, 'Wilmefort;' and the title of Scrop Earl of Wiltshire, which being unknown to the author of our MS. is called by him 'de liloman' (l'isle o'Man), was altered by successive copyists until it became 'dillomain,' and 'lomen;' and in the Ambassades MS. 'klomain.'[2]

Another charge against the veracity of our chronicler, and which has perhaps tended most of all to lower him in the estimation of historians, but which I am persuaded is altogether groundless, must now be noticed.

Proof of the presence of the Bishop of Carlisle at the Parliament of 1399.

Referring to the speech of the Bishop of Carlisle in favour of his deposed Sovereign, Sir James Mackintosh remarks, that it is considered by historical critics as a fabrication;[3] and the late Mr. Allen supplied Mons. Buchon with extracts from the Rolls of

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[1] Le Laboureur complains that the MS. of the Monk of St. Denys (to whose connection with this chronicle I shall shortly refer) was very badly written, 'et d'une lettre ancienne plutôt tronquée qu'abregée, sans ponctuation et sans ordre.' He calls his words 'ampoulés d'une langue expirante dans les tourments du barbarisme.' Preface to the Life of Chas. VI.

[2] It will be remarked that our author does not give Sir William Scrop's title on *the first* mention of his being created a peer; but simply says, 'And was made earl, Sir William Scrop.' Amongst the ambassadors sent to the court of Paris in July 1395, to demand in marriage the hand of Isabel, I find 'Willeramus le Scrop, cambellanus domini nostri et dominus de Man.' Chroniques du Moine de St. Denis.

[3] Hist. of England, i. 337.

Parliament to prove that the Bishop of Carlisle was not present during the commencement of the first Parliament of Henry IV.

Much has been written on this subject; but it is to be wished that our historians would search for themselves our original records, and not trust to the representations of others: a mistake in Dugdale's summonses to Parliament has misled many. In the 1st of Henry IV. there were two sets of summonses issued in the month of September; one set dated September 9th, and the other September 30th. Dugdale has placed the summonses issued on September 9th *before* those issued on the 30th, and in the former the Bishop of Carlisle is not summoned to Parliament, but the writ is made out 'Custodi sp̃ualitatis ep̃atus Karliol', sede vacante;' whilst in the second set of summonses Dugdale only gives the names of the Primate, the Bishop of London, *and the other bishops.* But the 9th of September of the 1st of Henry IV. was in the year 1400, he having ascended the throne on the 29th of September 1399; and in the original Rolls of Parliament, amongst the summonses of the 30th September of the 1st Henry IV. (anno 1399), the writ for 'T. Ep̃o Karliol' plainly appears.[1] The Parliament had been summoned in the name of Richard to meet at West-

Error in Dugdale's summonses to Parliament.

[1] Bishops summoned to Parliament 30th September, 1 Henry IV. (1399), to meet at Westminster on the day of St. Faith the Virgin. Tower Rolls.

R. Archiep'o Ebor' Angl' primate.
R. Ep'o London'
W. Ep'o Lincoln'
J. Ep'o Elien'
R. Ep'o Bathon' & Wellen'
J. Ep'o Coventr' & Lich'
T. Ep'o Karliol'
H. Ep'o Norwicen'
R. Ep'o Cicestren'
J. Ep'o Hereford'
E. Ep'o Exon'
R. Ep'o Sar'
T. Ep'o Wygorn'
W. Ep'o Roffen'
T. Ep'o Assaven'
W. Ep'o Dunolm'
G. Ep'o Meneven'.

A correct copy of the original Roll is given in the Appendix to the Report on the Dignity of a Peer of the realm, p. 768.

minster on Michaelmas-day 1399; but Richard had been compelled to resign his crown on the 30th, and fresh writs were issued by Henry for the assembling of Parliament on the 6th of October. It is true that the Bishop of Carlisle's name is not found amongst the prelates who, on the 23rd of October, *consented* to the imprisonment of Richard: but it was not to be expected that Henry's Chancellor would insert the names of the dissentients, and amongst these the Bishop of Carlisle did not stand alone; the Bishops of Bath and Wells, of Coventry and Lichfield, of Hereford, and of Worcester, who were also individually summoned, bore him honourable company.

The Bishop of Carlisle not the only non-consenting party to Richard's imprisonment.

Richard had delivered the temporalities of the see of Carlisle to Thomas Merks on the 18th of March 1397,[1] from which time he was bishop *ipso facto*. He had caused him, when a simple monk of Westminster, to be elected, in the first instance, in opposition to the wishes of the chapter,[2] who were desirous of electing William Strickland, who was eventually his successor in the see.[3] Merks was certainly present in Parliament in November 1397, for his name appears in the list of prelates who swore obedience on the relics to Richard.[4] Stow says he joined in counselling the death of Gloucester.[5] We find him sent to France in the 22nd of Richard, with the Earl of Salisbury, to bring over 100,000 francs, part of the portion of Isabel;[6] and in June 1397 he was

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[1] Rot. Pat. 18 Mar. 20 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 3.

[2] Merks was not the only monk who was presented to a bishopric by Richard in opposition to the wishes of the chapter. Upon the vacancy of the see of Worcester in 1395, Richard persuaded the Pope to present his physician, Robert Tydeman, in opposition to the regular election of Master John Green. Walsingham.

[3] Bishop White Kennett's Letters.

[4] Rot. Parl. iii. 335.

[5] Annals, 1592, 4to. p. 509.

[6] Rot. Franc. 19 October, 22 Ric.

sent on an embassy to Cologne and other parts of Germany, to take oaths of fidelity from the foreign prelates: and possibly it was on account of his repeated missions to the Continent that he was so late in paying his canonical duty to his metropolitan, which he did not do till the 19th of October 1399;[1] or perhaps he had not been on the best terms with him or with his chapter: but the fact that he was committed to the custody of the Abbot of St. Albans, who was ordered, by writ of the 28th October 1399,[2] 'to deliver him into the hands of the bearer that he might appear before the King and council,' is a decided proof that he had offended Henry, and as strong a corroboration of the correctness of our author's facts as could be desired.[3] The precise day on which the speech was delivered is quite a secondary matter, and is commented upon at page 221. The Bishop, as well as the other friends of Richard, had been imprisoned by Henry after their capture in Wales, but he was at large from the 18th to the 23rd of October. I think we may therefore agree with the great Lord Chief Justice Coke[4] and Dr. Higgins,[5] that the Bishop of Carlisle was certainly present at the Parliament in question, if we cannot say with Sir Walter Raleigh that he was the *only* honest man there. A contrary view of the case has been taken by Bishop Kennett, but he does not appear to have been aware that Merks was summoned to Henry's first Parliament; and, although

The Bishop of Carlisle imprisoned for freedom of speech in Parliament.

[1] Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl.

[2] Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV. 28 Oct.

[3] Henry delivered the temporalities of the see of Carlisle to Wm. Strickland, (or, as it is written in the Patent Rolls, Styrkland,) Nov. 15, 1400, (Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV.,) and wrote a letter to the Pope justifying his conduct. (Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, fol., i. 115.) According to Le Neve, Merks was not deprived till January 1440. (Fasti Eccles. Angl.)

[4] Hereditary Right.

[5] View of the English Constitution, 8vo. p. 5.

he searched the Tower Rolls to make good his position, justice can scarcely be expected from so decided a partisan as his letters prove him to be; or from a prelate who severely censures Richard for violently driving from his see Archbishop Arundel, whose subsequent treasonable intercourse[1] with Henry during his banishment, and his countenance to him upon his return, warrant the inference that he took part in the previous conspiracy at Arundel. At the same time it is not my province or my wish to be the panegyrist of the Bishop of Carlisle, whose dissipated character, and whose subsequent obsequiousness to Henry, deprive him of much of the respect of posterity.

Professor Smyth's remarks on the Bishop's speech.

Professor Smyth, in his admirable Lectures on Modern History,[2] recapitulates the substance of Bishop Kennett's remark,[3] that 'the original known authority upon which the truth of this story depends is E. Hall's chronicle, written in Henry VIII.'s reign, and we find no heads or hint of it in any writer who lived near the supposed time of speaking, no, nor in the reign of Edward IV.' And the Professor adds, 'The only fact that can now be ascertained is, that he was thrown into prison for words spoken in Parliament in opposition to the usurpation of Henry. 'I presume, therefore, that both Professor Smyth and Bishop Kennett were ignorant of the existence of this contemporary chronicle, which gives the Bishop's speech, though not the additions of Hall, Hayward, and Hume.

And here it may be 'remarked that a foreign chronicler in such a case stands on vantage ground. The

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[1] The Archbishop, in common with all the other lords, swore allegiance to Richard in the lifetime of his grandfather, Edward III. (Rot. Parl. iii. 330 and following pages.)

[2] i. 137.

[3] Bishop Kennett's Second Letter, 1717.

friends of Richard were too much persecuted on the one hand, and on the other the solid rewards of court favour were too liberally distributed by Henry, to leave the devotion of the English chroniclers to the House of the Red Roses a matter of doubt, or at least to induce them to suppress opposition. Chaucer, who had married a sister of Catherine Swynford was liberally pensioned by Henry;[1] and Thomas Walsingham and Thomas Holgill had received a grant of lands from Richard of the annual value of four pounds, three shillings, and five-pence,[2] which they would be careful not to forfeit.

Chaucer and Walsingham pensioned by Henry.

It has been objected by Dr. Lingard and others, that this account of the conspiracy at Arundel appears to be no more than a report invented to explain the Duke of Gloucester's arrest. It has been said that the story has not been alluded to by any contemporary English historian; but it surely behoves us to consider on what ground we reject the positive testimony of a contemporary historian. I think the remarks before made, relative to the Bishop of Carlisle's speech, may also apply in this case. But I venture to submit, that many circumstances concur in corroborating the truth of the narrative. It was not the first time that the parties had acted in conspiracy against the government. They had done so, on the 14th November 1387, at Waltham Cross, (the Archbishop of Canterbury being then Bishop of Ely,) with the view of appealing of treason the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tressilien, and Sir Nicholas Brembre.

Objections of Dr. Lingard to the authenticity of the conspiracy at Arundel considered.

The Monk of Evesham informs us that the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel refused to attend the grand council in the preceding February,

[1] Rymer. (Fœdera.) [2] Rot. Pat. October 19, 22 Ric. II.

excusing themselves on account of their infirmities, which roused the King's anger.[1]

Mr. Webb remarks, that the ostensible cause of Henry's exile is not quite clear.[2] Many writers have suspected that Henry must have been implicated in other plots than those for which he was ostensibly banished. Dr. Lingard himself remarks, (and, as it appears to me, with much force,) 'From this anxiety of Henry to obtain his pardon, which he had now solicited and received twice since the declaration made in his favour by Richard a few months before, I am inclined to suspect that he had engaged in the designs of Norfolk, *whatever they were*, and had been admitted to favour on the condition that he should accuse his associate.' The Doctor might have added, that Henry's hypocritical confession before the Parliament at Shrewsbury seemed designed to obtain the confirmation by that estate of this general pardon for all past treason, and that it was not until after the measures of the conspirators had been broken by their arrest that he returned to court, and then attended 'with a power of men-at-arms and archers.'[3]

Treaty of alliance between John of Gaunt and the Duke of Brittany.

The conduct of Henry of Lancaster, and of his father John of Gaunt, appears to be open to suspicion, in their having made a private treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Duke of Brittany, dated 25th November 1395, without any reservation as to their allegiance to Richard. Lobineau has preserved the treaty, copied from the Chronicle of Nantes.[4] A contract of marriage had been then entered into between Henry eldest son of the Earl Derby, and Mary eldest daughter of the Duke of Brittany. The

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[1] Cotton. MS. Tiberius C. ix.
[2] Archæologia, xx. 107.
[3] Froissart, and Chron. of London.
[4] Lobineau, Hist. de Bretaigne, Preuves Historiques, ii. 791.

dower was to have been one hundred and fifty thousand francs d'or, of which one hundred thousand francs were to be paid down. 'Touching the castle and chasteleine[1] of Brest, the said Duke of Brittany shall be firmly held under his seal to the said Duke of Lancaster and Earl Derby, that at the time the said Duke of Lancaster shall procure him the confirmation of the seignoury of Rysing, that then the said Duke of Brittany, when he shall be required, shall deliver up to them the said castle of Brest, &c. on condition, nevertheless, that the said Duke of Brittany shall enjoy the rent of seven hundred marcs, which he holds of the lordship of Rysing; and if peace should be made between France and England, on retiring Brest, shall give him another castle of equal value.'[2] The Duke of Lancaster, with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Surrey, and others, then pledged themselves to endeavour to obtain the restoration of Brest to the Duke of Brittany.[3] But the faithless Duke shortly afterwards (26th June 1396) married his daughter Mary to John Count de Perche, eldest son of the Count d'Alençon, with a dower of one hundred thousand francs d'or and the château and 'chasteleine' de la Guerche.[4] Richard was so displeased with the conduct of the parties in this affair, either with the Duke of Brittany or with the Duke of Lancaster, or, as is most probable, with both, that it required all the efforts of the King of France to reconcile them.[5]

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[1] 'Chasteleine' is town and suburbs.

[2] Lobineau, ii. 791.

[3] Morice, Hist. de Bretaigne, i. 425; and Proceedings of the Privy Council, i. 69.

[4] Lobineau, i. 494.

[5] Morice, Hist. de Bretaigne, i. 425. Morice, who wrote fifty years later than Lobineau, and is his echo, has evidently erred in assigning the marriage of the Duke of Brittany's daughter to the Count de Perche as a reason for delay in the restoration of Brest. That marriage took place in June 1396, and it was not till the following October, at Leling-

The conspiracy at Arundel: its probability considered.

The reader will remark that our author states that the Earl of Warwick revealed the *whole* truth to the King (the particulars of the conspiracy at Arundel), although enough had been revealed to Parliament to warrant the condemnation of Gloucester and Arundel. There might have been very powerful reasons for not revealing the extent of the conspiracy. If Henry had been impeached, Richard might not have obtained the consent of his uncles to the condemnation of Gloucester; and the mutual inveterate hatred of Henry and Mowbray, as well as their repeated rejection of all attempts at mediation, comport with the fact of a breach of faith of the gravest kind.

There appears something suspicious in the manner in which the Earls of Derby and Nottingham received their pardon for offences long past, immediately on the opening of Parliament; and in the allusion to their having withdrawn from the Duke of Gloucester and the other conspirators at Waltham Cross.[1] The separation of the conspirators after capture seems moreover to indicate the fear of their being rescued. The Earl of Arundel was removed from the Tower to Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight;[2] the Earl of Warwick to Tyntagel castle in Cornwall;[3] and Sir John Cobham to the isle of Jersey.[4]

There was certainly a partial rising of the followers of Arundel, for an order was issued on the 28th of July for the arrest of all the disaffected of the county of Sussex.[5] Carte states that the disaffected

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hen, that the restoration of Brest was determined on; the order to Drax to receive Brest was dated March 1396, but 1396 old style. Shortly after Easter in 1397, the following year, the ransom was paid, and Brest restored. See note [1], 117.

[1] Rot. Parl. iii. 353.

[2] Ibid. 435.

[3] Ibid. 436.

[4] Ibid. 382.

[5] Rymer, Fœdera.

raised forces also in the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Essex, and that proclamations for their arrest were issued on July 15th.[1] Our author also states, that, 'if Henry and Mowbray had gone to Shrewsbury, they would never have returned, and would have had their heads taken off; evidently implying that they were afraid of the friends of the deceased lords. Mowbray, in effect, kept out of the way. Henry might have sought favour by the accusation of the favourite, Mowbray; for Froissart remarks that the King's great partiality for him had excited very general discontent. This view of the case is also, I conceive, strengthened by the fact that Mowbray was not bailed, and was unable, according to our author, to obtain bail. (See note [2], page 142.)

Testimony of the Monk of Evesham.

I am happy, however, to be able to supply a decided corroboration to the truth of this part of our narrative. The Monk of Evesham, when relating the Earl of Warwick's appearance before the Parliament on Friday, September 21st, states, 'Tunc Rex petit ab eo, per quem, vel per quos, eis alligatus vel associatus extiterat. Qui miserabiliter et insipienter respondit, quod per Thomam ducem Gloucestriæ, et abbatem tunc Sancti Albani, nec non et per monachum reclusum tunc Westmonasterii; ac semper gratiam Regis cum singultu et ejulatu magno postulavit.'[2]

Another corroboration may be found in the fact that the retainers of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick were mulcted with fines and 'ransoms.' Upon Henry's accession a petition was presented to him, begging that those fines might be repaid to them 'en œuvre de charite,' but the petition was not granted.[3]

[1] Hist. of Eng. ii. 617; Fol. edn. 1750.

[2] Vita R. Ricardi; ed. Hearne, 140.

[3] Rot. Parl. iii. 440.

The MS. St. Victor, in the Royal Library, Paris.

The text of the present work is taken from the earliest existing MS., which is preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, and is marked No. 904, Fonds St. Victor, formerly No. 1188. It is a small quarto, ten inches by seven inches, bound in plain green vellum; and stamped on the outside with the arms of the abbey of St. Victor,[1] which are also painted on the first page of the chronicle with the words 'St. Augustin.' The hand-writing is of the early part of the fifteenth century; the character Gothic, neatly and very correctly executed upon vellum; the initial letter illuminated, and the first letter of each paragraph coloured. The history is contained in ninety-three folios, and is followed by a translation of a treatise of Seneca on the four cardinal virtues (Prudence, Magnanimity, Chastity, and Justice), contained in thirty-three folios, with a prologue by the translator (of five additional folios) inscribed to John 'son of the King of France, Duke of Berry and Auvergne, Count of Poitou, of Estampes, of Boulongne, and of Auvergne.'

At the end of the treatise, which is very beautifully written, with the initial letters illuminated, we read, 'Explicit le liure Senecque des quatre vertus, translate en Francoys a Paris, par Maistre Jehan

[1] The abbey of St. Victor was founded for religieux of the order of St. Augustin, by Louis le Gros. It was situated near the abbey of St. Germain des Près, Paris. Under Louis the Seventh, the abbey of St. Victor became celebrated as a fountain of science, and as one of the two principal seats of learning; the other being at the cathedral. The celebrated religieux, Hugue, Adam, and Richard, were all of St. Victor, as was also Pierre Comestor, author of the great work 'Historia Scolastica.' The library was then commenced, and has been enriched since, says Du Chesne, with a great number of rare books, principally MSS. (Les Antiquitez et recherces des villes de France, par André du Chesne. Paris, 1637.) A MS. of the metrical history of Richard by Creton was also obtained from this abbey; No. 275, Fonds St. Victor, Bibl. du Roi.

The MS. St. Victor:

Courtecuisse, Maistre en Theologie, lan mil quatre cens et trois.'

M. Paulin Paris doubts, however, whether this was the Duke of Berry's own copy. On the first page of the treatise, at the bottom, is the following inscription, in a different ink:

'Hic Liber est Sancti Victoris Parisiensis
Inveniens quis ei reddat amore Dei.'

The following superscription is at the commencement of the volume in a very ancient hand-writing, apparently added by the librarian of St. Victor when the book became the property of the abbey:

'ccc. 9. 'Que secunt^r. hic habentur (scil3)

'In Gallico prodicio et mors Richardi quondam Regis Anglie (2) Seneca de IV^or virtutibus cardinalib3 in Gallicum translatus et glosatus (ad requestam Johannis quondam ducis Biturie 1403) per magr̃m Johannem Brevis Coxe doctorem in theologia postmodum ep̃m Gebenēsem.'

This inscription must have been written subsequent to the year 1421, when the above-mentioned Jean Courtecuisse was promoted to the bishopric of Geneva.[1]

The folios of the volume are numbered with the ancient numerals, an x for 4, an inverted v for 7, &c.

probably a translation from the Latin of the Monk of St. Denys.

I now submit that the whole of these MSS. are probably translations from a Latin original, and that the Monk of St. Denys was either the author, or that he derived the materials for his history from our chronicle; and that in either case it must have been in existence prior to the year 1412, when the long-

[1] Gallia Christiana, edn. of 1666, folio, i. 457. Jean de Courtecuisse was one of the most celebrated orators of the age. He delivered a funeral oration for the Duke of Orleans in 1407; (Champollion, Vie des Ducs Louis et Charles d'Orleans;) and was ambassador to England in 139[illegible]

continued labours of the worthy Monk were brought to a close.

A proof of the early date of the chronicle may be found in the mode of writing 'Beaulx oncles,' 'Dieux,' 'unes lettres,' 'nulz,' 'vielz,' 'gentilz,' used in the singular number. This mode disappeared early in the fifteenth century. It was a remnant of the language of the Trouvères, who, imitating the Latins, retained the final *s* in the nominative singular in nouns ending in *us*, and abolished it in the plural. Early date of the MS.

As an additional proof of the early date of the chronicle, I may mention that it was given by Baldwin of Avesnes (son of Margaret Countess of Flanders) in his 'Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum 1400:' he flourished about 1420, or, according to Moréri, at a still earlier date. A notice of Baldwin of Avesnes, a well-known chronicler, will be found in 'Casimirioundini Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiæ antiquis;' Lipsiæ, 1722, Fo.; tom. iii. fo. 2306. In this work is preserved a copy of the last paragraph of our chronicle.[1] Baldwin does not appear to have been more than the compiler of his chronicles; witness the following inscription at the beginning of his work: 'Ce sont les chroniques estraites et abregies des liures Monseigneur Bauduin des Auesnes, fils iadis de Contesse Margherite de Flandres et de Haynault, qui meult fut sages homes et en assembla de plusieurs liures.'

[1] 'Item, lan 1399, le 12 jour de Mars, fut amenés en l'eglise de Saint Pol a Londres, en estat de Gentilhomme, le corps du noble Roy Richart. Et est veritez, que le cariet fut couuert tout dun drap noir, a tout quatre banieres dessuz, de quoi les deux furent des armes de Saint Jorge, et les autres deux de Saint Edouart, cest assavoir d'azur atout une croix dor, a cinq mailles dor. Et y auoit cent homes tout vestus de noir, et portoient chacun une torse et xxx homes qui estoient vestus de blanc, qui alerent a lencontre du corps du noble Roy Richart, et fut amenes a Saint Pol la maistre eglise de Londres, affin que ils crussent pour certain que il fust mors.' Catal. Lugduno-Batav. (1674,) p. 4. no. 402.

Berry, Chastelain, and Le Beau were translators only.

Before adducing proofs in support of the above proposition, it may be as well to state the reasons whence it appears that neither Berry, Chastelain, nor Le Bel can be more than the translators of the respective MSS. which bear their names. Although André du Chesne, in an annotation appended to his edition of the works of Alain Chartier,[1] distinctly mentions the Berry Herald (Gilles le Bouvier) as the author of an account of the deposition and death of Richard II. King of England, under the title of 'Memoires du faict et destruction d'Engleterre en partie;' and although four different MSS. bear this title, yet their defects prove that they cannot have been original works.[2] It is moreover allowed by Gaillard and Webb, and on a perusal of the MS. it will be evident, that the author of our narrative must have been present at the scenes he so graphically describes. One instance of our chronicler's minute description may be mentioned. Referring to King Richard's visit to his brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, he describes his house as 'un très bel houstel,' situated on the banks of the Thames, behind All Hallows church; an account corroborated by Dr. Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, and by the public records. This magnificent palace,[3] called Cold Harborough,

[1] 'Les Œuvres de Maistre Alain Chartier, Clerc, Notaire et Secretaire des Roys Charles VI. et Charles VII.' Edited by André du Chesne Tourangeau, Paris, 1617.

In an annotation on Richard II. in this work, page 814, we read, 'Berry, Herauld du Roy Charles VII. esleu à Roy d'armes des François, a fort particulièrement descrit la deposition et mort de ce Richard Roy d'Angleterre soubz le titre de *Memoires du faict et destruction d'Engleterre en partie.* Mais le rapport en serra trop lõg et peut estre hors de propos en cet endroit. Une autre occasiõ luy pourra donner bien quelque part. Car c'est une pièce digne de lumière et qui contient beaucoup de circonstances obmises par Froissart, et autres historiens du temps.'

[2] See the account of the different MSS. at the end of the Preface.

[3] Bishop Kennett's Letters.

was situated in Lombard-street, in the ward of Dowgate and parish of All Hallows the Less, and was originally the property of Richard's favourite, Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk. It is upon record that in 1397 King Richard dined there with his brother the Earl of Huntingdon.[1] It may be also remarked that the spelling of the proper names in this MS. is identical with that of the contemporary records preserved in the British Museum. Indeed, in his interesting description of the last interview between Richard and his young Queen, the author speaks of himself as an eyewitness, which the Berry Herald could not have been.[2]

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[1] Royal and Noble Wills, 188; note in Dallaway's Inquiries. See also Stow, B. 206.

[2] The accounts respecting the Herald Berry's name are contradictory; but in his own MS. on the Genealogy of the Kings of France, No. 9653[55], and Codex Colb. 1867, Bibl. du Roi, he commences as follows: 'Je Gilles le Bouuier dit Berry premier herault de très hault, &c., seign[r]. Charles VII. de son nom, par lui nomme Heraut en l'an 1420, et depuis coronne et cree par icellui prince en son chastel de Mehun le jour de la haulte feste de Noel et Roy d'armes du pays et marche de Berry.' (As Charles VII. did not ascend the throne till 1422, I presume that he was created Herald by the Dauphin during his father's state of imbecility.) He was the author of a history of the recovery of Normandy from the English, from the year 1402 to the death of Charles VII., published by Godefroy in 1651, folio, Paris. This history or chronicle was first attributed to Alain Chartier, but it is distinctly claimed by Berry; and the author of the 'Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque' remarks that its style is too pure and chaste for Alain Chartier. So also Ducange and others. In the prologue to his chronicle Berry remarks: 'Je Berry, premier Heraut du Roy de France mon naturel et souverain Seigneur, et Roy d'armes de son pais de Berry, honneur et reverence a tous ceux qui ce petit livre verront. Plaire scavoir que en l'honneur de nostre Sauveur Jesus Christ, et de la glorieuse Vierge Marie, au seiziesme de mon age, qui fut en l'an 1402, j'eus en volonté (ainsi comme Dieu et nature me conseillerent et ordonnerent, et selon que en ieune age un chacun s'applique à faire chose et labeur où son plaisir l'encline) de prendre ma delectation à voir et parcourir le monde,' &c.

See his éloge in Histoire de Berry, by G. T. de la Thaumassière, Bourges, 1691, fo.; also Moréri, Dict. Hist.; and Godefroy's History of Charles VII. Paris, 1651, fo.

Berry, who (as well as Jean Juvenal des Ursins) had borrowed his history of the early part of the reign of Charles VI. from the Monk of St. Denys without

Gilles le Bouvier, Berry Herald.

He did not commence his travels until the year 1402; (see his Introduction to his Chronicles of France from 1402 till the death of Charles VII., Godefroy's edition;) nor does he appear ever to have visited England.[1] He tells us that he was born in the year 1386, and he could scarcely have described as an eye-witness events which happened in 1398 and 1399. Besides, the style of the history of Richard is far less elegant than the style of Berry's chronicle. Berry, however, may have translated the chronicle, and from his official situation was likely to have access to it; he was, moreover, present at the marriage of Isabel, Richard's widow, with the Duke of Orleans in 1406. Chastelain was not born till the year 1404; and, although the precise date of the birth of Le Bel is unknown, there can be but little doubt that he was not the author, his MS. being so condensed and imperfect.[2] Although he claims the authorship of the MS., he has the modesty to drop the first person

acknowledgment, was apparently nothing loath to claim also the authorship of the history of Richard. (Le Laboureur, Preface to his Life of Charles VI.)

[1] Monstrellet mentions the Berry Herald as the bearer of letters, in 1402, from 'Michel d'Oris, Ecuyer d'Aragon,' to Jean de Prendregast, an English knight; but the letters were delivered to the Earl of Somerset at Calais. Moreover, it appears that 'Jehan le Jeune, dit Auvergne,' was then 'Roy de Berry.' See MS. No. 6993², Bibl. du Roi.

[2] Jean le Bel, Canon of St. Lambert en Liège, is supposed by M. Buchon to be the illegitimate grandson of Jean le Bel, also a Canon of St. Lambert, whose Latin chronicles served as a guide and foundation to the work of Froissart, as he himself tells us in his Preface to the Chronicles. His father was a rich citizen of Liege, from whom his son inherited considerable wealth. He joined Jean de Haynau, uncle to Queen Philippa, who accompanied Edward III. in his expedition to Scotland in 1333. His grandson appears to have retained the interest and affection which his ancestor bore towards the royal family of England. Vide Miroires des nobles de Hesbaie, par Jacques d'Hemricourt, as quoted by Buchon in his third volume of Froissart, ed. of 1835, p. 542.

Monsieur P. Paris attributes to the elder Jean le Bel the authorship of the Chronicles of Flanders, imprinted by Denis Sauvage. (MSS. François de la Bibl. du Roi, v. 362.)

in his description of the parting scene of Richard and his Queen before alluded to.

The author probably a French Benedictine.

That the author of the history of Richard was a foreigner may be fairly inferred from several of his remarks respecting English customs, and from his use of the word 'eschevin' for mayor. That he was a native of France would appear from his speaking of the Count of St. Pol being sent to the joust at Coventry by *our* King (*MSS. Y.* and 9848), and by his mentioning Sire Guillaume Boutillier, who was knighted by Henry at his coronation, as *our* trumpeter (*MSS. O.* and 9848);[1] and that he was an ecclesiastic would appear from the tone of his observations. He was probably a Benedictine, for he speaks with much eulogy of the Bishop of Carlisle, who, he remarks, was of the order of St. Bénoist. I suspect he generally resided near, or was attached to, St. George's chapel, Windsor. (See pages 141 and 167.)

The Monk of St. Denys in England from the year 1381.

The Monk of St. Denys informs us that he was sent *to the Court of England* on behalf of the affairs of the abbey of Saint Denys; that he resided in this kingdom from the year 1381, and was witness to the troubles which then arose. Referring to Wat Tyler's insurrection, when the mob beheaded the Archbishop of Canterbury and five knights, he remarks: 'When I heard with indignation that the sacred head of the prelate[2] had been kicked about by the populace in the streets of the city, one of the by-standers said to me, 'Let me tell you that in the kingdom of France there will happen

[1] There is an interesting notice of this Guillaume Boutillier in the chronicles of Robert Gaguin, p. 139, 4to. edn., Paris, 1532.

On the 28th April 1396, permission was given for 'Willielmus le Buteillier, Miles et Camerarius Regis Franciæ,' to go into Aquitaine with 120 others. Rymer, Fœdera, iii.

[2] The skull of this celebrated prelate (Simon Sudbury) is still exhibited in a recess in the wall of the church at Sudbury, Essex.

The Monk of St. Denys.

more horrible events, and that shortly.' I only replied, 'God forbid that the ancient loyalty of France should be stained by such a crime!' In the year 1393, the Monk was ordered by the Duke of Berry to take an exact account of the conferences at Lelinghen, and to chronicle them; and the work is thus mentioned by Le Laboureur in his Catalogue of the books of the Duke: 'Un liure de l'histoire de Lezignem escrit en Latin de lettres de fourme prisé 8 livres.' I have not yet been able to discover at what period the Monk returned to England; but a corroboration of the fact of the Monk's presence in England, and of his minute acquaintance with our affairs, appears from his having preserved the following characteristic incident in his Latin chronicles, but which does not appear to have been noticed in our narrative. It seems that the Duke of Lancaster interceded with Richard several times on behalf of his son, but in vain, even up to the day of combat. One day he said to the King in jest, 'We take it for granted that the cause of your cousin is just, yet, if he should succumb, what will you do with him?' '*Believe me*,' said the King, '*if he should be beaten, I shall let him be hung on the gibbet; and don't wonder, for in a like case I should treat you no better.*' Which reply touched the Duke to the quick, but he managed to conceal his anger, and succeeded by the entreaties of the other dukes and counts in inducing the King to change his mind.[1]

In all the copies of this MS. the Earl of Westmoreland is called Wastcomberlant (West-cumberland); and this precise word is found in the Monk's chronicles, and also in Le Laboureur's translation. From this apparently trifling circumstance, and from the omission in both chronicles of the proper title of

[1] Chronicles, book xix. chap. 11.

Sir W. Scrop, Earl of Wiltshire, I was led to compare the two histories; and was not a little surprised to find, dispersed amongst different chapters of the chronicles of the Monk, the whole of our author's matter whenever it was of sufficient importance to take its place in French history, but in a condensed form, and divested of its numerous repetitions. The proper names agree throughout with the earlier copies of our MS., their order in a series is mostly preserved, and the agreement of the two accounts is such as decidedly to prove that they passed through the same hands.[1]

The works of the Chroniclers revised by the chapter after the death of the sovereign.

We learn from La Curne de St. Palaye, that the Kings of France have had their 'Historiographes' from the time of Philippe Auguste; that they committed the keeping of their honour to the monks of Saint Denys, as well as the guard of their ashes and of the sacred standard of the Oriflamme;[2] and that the writings of their chroniclers were revised and condensed by a party selected by the first chapter that was held after the death of the sovereign, after which they were registered and became public property. He remarks, that one of their chroniclers,

[1] The chapters in question are as follows:

Chronicles of the Monk of St. Denys.

Book xvii.	chap.	20.
„ xviii.	„	5.
„ xix.	„	11.
„ xx.	„	9 to 14.
„ „	„	16, 17, & 18.

[2] The 'sacred standard of the Oriflamme' was only unfurled on the King's engaging in war; and he always repaired to St. Denys in person to fetch it, and to implore the aid of Heaven, previous to his undertaking an expedition. The name of the bearer was annually published with the other great officers of state, until about the middle of the 15th century.

A copy of the ancient Oriflamme is still suspended over the high altar at the cathedral of St. Denys. It is red, with three points; and is suspended from a transverse rod, after the manner of the Roman standards. Speaking of the King, Charles VII., the Herald Berry uses this expression, 'Et regna 39 ans et trespessa au son chatel de Meun (Mehun) le xxii. jour de Juillet, jor. de la Magdelaine, et est en terre sainta Saint Denis in France et apres son pere.' MS. 9653[55]. Bibl. du Roi.

Jean Chartier, was present at the siege of Harfleur, salaried and supported, himself and his horses, by the ordinance and desire of the King. I therefore think it very probable that the Monk's original Latin MS. was revised and condensed by order of his superiors.

The variations between the two accounts are the following. In the chronicles of the Monk of St. Denys is recorded the fact of Richard's abdication, which is not mentioned in this chronicle, but this fact might have been subsequently added by the chapter. The duel at Coventry is mentioned by the Monk as appointed to be held in the month of January, whereas our text states the day appointed was a Monday in August.

The Monk remarks in his chronicles, referring to Richard's interment, 'His body, *according to him who made these notes for the King of France*, was carried the following day to Pomfret,' &c. Whether this was inserted by the chapter after the Monk's death, or not, it is now difficult to determine. The worthy Monk appears to have travelled backwards and forwards between the two countries on various occasions. In March 1398, he was at Rheims; at least he describes one of the events connected with the reception of the Emperor Wenceslaus as an eye-witness. When he returned to England, if at all, I have not yet been able to discover.[1]

The author of the chronicle most probably accompanied Henry from Paris by the desire of Charles VI.

From Creton's history we learn that Henry brought with him a clerk from Paris, which clerk subsequently furnished Creton with the information of what had happened after he had quitted England. That clerk I believe to have been the author of this chronicle, and two circumstances appear to connect him with St. Denys. Before quitting

[1] A mass of ancient records, safe-conducts, &c. from various monasteries, exists at the Prefecture of the Department of the Seine at Rouen, but unsorted and without a catalogue, and therefore inaccessible: probably there are many other such collections.

France, Henry repaired to the church of St. Denys, by the advice of the Duke of Berry;[1] and when the captive Richard was at Northampton, on his journey to London, being in the power of Henry, a patent in favour of one of the cells of St. Denys, the priory of Derehurst in Gloucestershire, was issued;[2] and it should be remarked that the abbot had interceded with Henry on behalf of this very priory.[3] If this were the case, it would account for the absence of all notice of Irish affairs, and of Richard's wanderings in Wales, where the author could not have been present. The name of the laborious chronicler of St. Denys has, as yet, been unknown. He was assuredly, says Le Laboureur, a man of the most honourable impartiality, a good man, and worthy ecclesiastic; and St. Palaye calls him the most exact, the best informed, and the most faithful author that we have. I find, however, the arrival of a monk of St. Denys (spelt, according to the sound, Sangny) in England,

The Monk of St. Denys.

[1] Chronicles, b. xx. c. 8.

[2] John Russell having farmed the priory of Derehurst, and by occasion of divers infirmities having dissipated the property, the King takes the priory into his favour, and commits the custody of it to Master Richard Wyche, clerk, with the consent of the Duke of Lancaster, Ralph Earl of Westmoreland, and the nobles of the council. (Rot. Pat. 23 Ric. II. 29 August.) On the occasion of the interview of the Kings of France and England in 1396, when Richard received his bride, Charles begged of him to restore to the abbey of St. Denys the priory of Derehurst, Gloucestershire; which one of his knights had seized upon. Richard promised to do so, but the English afterwards opposed the accomplishment of the promise. (Monk of St. Denys.) The manor of Derehurst (formerly Durhestain or Pleystowe) cum Hardewyke, with the manors of Bourton, Mouretoun, Toddenham, and Sutton, were valued at £163. 1*s*. $0\frac{1}{4}d$. (Abstract of Roll 33 Hen. VIII. Augmentation Office; see Dugdale, Monast. i. 304.) It appears by the Cartulary of St. Denys to have belonged to that abbey from the year 1069, and also that the abbots of St. Denys divided the 'temporel' of the abbey of St. Edmond; and that this appropriation was confirmed to them by King Edward and the bishops in 1281. The draft of the deed of restoration of Derehurst is still preserved at the Chapter-house, Westminster. It is dated the 3rd of Henry IV.

[3] Chronicles, b. xx. c. 8.

in March 1381; which corresponds with the Monk's account of his arrival in time to witness the rising of the populace, and the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The name given in the safe-conduct is Jean le Harmonez;[1] and the document was made out, not as usual for a twelvemonth, but to continue during the monk's pleasure. He arrived in the retinue of David Holgrene, Esq., who had left this country alone for France, May 20th, 1380.[2] At the same time I find that the priory of Derehurst bore the name of St. Denys of Derehurst,[3] and that the names of Johanne de Harmoner and Johanne de Paris are found amongst the witnesses to two deeds of conveyance of certain lands to that priory in the time of Henry III.[4] Whether, therefore, Jean le Harmonez was the monk in question, the descendant of an ancestor connected with the priory, or not, I must leave to the decision of others. If the safe-conducts of Henry's companions are still preserved in Brittany or elsewhere, they might assist in the solution of the question.

His name.

I would now refer to the fact, that many copies of this chronicle were once in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels, and others have come to us

Several MS. copies of the chronicle in the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy.

[1] Rot. Franc. 4 Ric. II.

'Rex per literas suas patentes quamdiu Regi placuerit duraturas suscepit in salvum et securum conductum suum fratrem Johannem le Harmonez monachum de Sangny veniendo in comitiva David de Holgrene per dominium et potestatem Regis in regnum Angliæ quamdiu sibi placuerit ibidem morando et exinde ad propria redeundo. Teste Rege apud Westr. 10 die Mar.'

[2] Carte's Gascon Rolls, ii. 131. David Holgrene, armiger, has letters of protection on going abroad, 20 May 1380.

[3] Minutes of Council, i. 195.

[4] A deed of conveyance of certain lands to the priory of Derehurst, from Roger of Derneford, is witnessed by several noblemen and by Johanne de Harmoner; Dominus Galfridus de Derhurst being one of the sheriffs of the county of Gloucester (temp. Hen. III.) Two deeds of conveyance from Wm. de Derneford are witnessed by Johanne de Paris; no date.

These deeds form part of the title of the priory of Derehurst, now belonging to Westminster Abbey, and are preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

from Liege and Valenciennes; and that all these MSS. want the account of Richard's capture by the Earl of Northumberland. This circumstance I can only account for on the supposition, that Creton's account of the capture being then widely circulated, rendered the transcription of that part of the chronicle unnecessary. Most of these MSS. are of rather later date, and contain various slight corrections and additions of proper names; which I think may fairly be attributed to Jean Castel, son of the illustrious Christine of Pisa, who, after a three years' residence in England with the Earl of Salisbury, (who had brought him from Paris to be educated with his own son, from motives of kindness to the mother, then a widow and in necessitous circumstances,) had been received into the household of Philip the good Duke of Burgundy.[1] The mother describes her son as 'un jeune homme d'un esprit très pénétrant.' An interesting correspondence in verse, between Castel, Abbot of St. Maur, who continued the chronicles of St. Denys, and who was no doubt the grandson of Christine, and George Chastelain, historian to the Duke of Burgundy, is preserved at the end of MS. 10,025 [b], Regius, Bibl. du Roi. Chastelain writes to the youth, then at college, with much affection, and it may be presumed that it was on account of the friendship he bore to his father.[2]

They were probably revised by Jean Castel.

The son of Christine of Pisa resided with the Earl of Salisbury.

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[1] Philip Duke of Burgundy commissioned Christine to write the history of Charles V., of which she had only composed the first book when Philip died. Henry, upon his accession, sent the Lancaster and Falcon Heralds to invite Christine to his court: she replied, she would come if he would send her son to escort her; but, when she had obtained her object, no inducements were sufficient to tempt her to leave her adopted country. See MS. 7087[2], Bibl. du Roi, and Mémoires de Littérature. (Tom. ii. Vie de Christine.)

[2] That Christine's son was not a monk appears from a portrait of him at the head of MS. 7216, Regius, Bibl. du Roi, in which he is represented in the dress of a gentleman of the court, with a scarlet cloak edged with white,

Removal of the Parliament from London to Shrewsbury.

One expression of our chronicler (p. 11) appears to deserve more than the passing notice of a note. He remarks, that Richard removed his Parliament from London to Shrewsbury, 'pour chastier ceulx de Londres,' or, as the Monk of St. Denys remarks in his chronicles, 'ad deprimendum Londoniensium superbiam.'[1] The foreign chroniclers of this period, without exception, allude to the evil disposition of the Londoners towards Richard, calling them the 'Godaliers de Londres,' 'les malveillans du Roi Richard;' and even the people of the North of England complained that Henry had been only elected by the villeins of the city of London.[2]

Causes of the hatred of the men of London to King Richard.

It would be interesting to discover the causes of the inveterate hatred of the men of London to Richard, and of their attachment to Henry of Lancaster. It could not be that the hospitality of the King was not sufficiently princely. There resorted daily unto his court, says Holinshed, (and it should be borne in mind that this was in a time of famine,) ten thousand persons who had meat and drink there allowed them. Holinshed converts this liberality of Richard's into a charge against him. 'In his kitchen there were three hundred servitors, and every other office was furnished at a like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and landerers, there were about three hundred at the least. Yeomen

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and with different colòured stockings. Octavian de St. Gelais, in his Séjour d'Honneur, fol. vi., speaks of 'les dictateurs des chroniques de France, comme Froissart et le moine Castel,' and Molinet speaks of the *monk* Castel; but Molinet was successor to George Chastelain, and flourished from 1475 to 1505. (Moréri.) The party they refer to was the Abbot of St. Maur, who promised obedience to the Bishop of Paris, 29 Jan. 1472. (Gallia Christiana, vii. 301, edn. 1744.) M. de Barante informs us that he received a salary of two hundred livres a year as chronicler of France, and that he died in 1479. The only other work of his now extant is 'Le Mirouer des pécheurs et pécheresses.'

[1] Le Moine de Saint Denys, b. xix. c. 11.

[2] Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine; Poictiers, 1545. Vignier., Bibliothèque Historiale; Paris, 1587, and Appendix A.

and groomes were clothed in silkes, with clothe of grain and skarlet, over-sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates.' The average expenditure of his kitchen was £22 per day.[1] This may appear a large outlay; but Dr. Lingard thinks that his expenses were not greater, and that his demands on his subjects were considerably less, than those of his predecessors.[2] Reference should be made to the customary establishments of the continental princes at this time. The household of Louis Duke of Orleans consisted ordinarily of two hundred and forty servants, (including three jesters and 'une folle,') and when he set out for the crusade in Hungary in 1396, he was followed by more than two hundred servants wearing his livery. His tents were of green satin; his banners and standards were of embroidery, enriched with gold, silver, and precious stones;[3] and his camp equipage of silver.

His luxury

not greater than that of other princes.

Henry and his father appear to have indulged in the same lavish expenditure as Richard, and to have

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[1] Præstita in Wardrobe accounts, 13 & 14 Ric. II.

[2] Hist. of England.

[3] Original MSS. of the Duke of Orleans, Bibl. du Roi. The same documents furnish the following account of the salaries of the 'inferior officers' of his household:

	francs.
Un confesseur et son compagnon	xxv
Un varlet d'aumosne	iii
Un secretaire	xxx
Un cirugien	xx
Un apotiquaire	x
Un sommelier des nappes	vi
Un aide de parmetiere	iii
Un sommelier d'eschançonnerie	vi
Un aide d'echançonnerie	iii
Un porteur	ii
Un gueux	x
Un saussier	iiii
Un aide de sausserie	iii
Un fruitier	vi
Un aide de fruit	iiii
Un chevaucheur	vi
Un mareschal	vi
Un palleffrenier	x
Un fourrier	vi
Un aide de fourrerie	iiii
Un garde harnois	iii
Un porteur de l'eaue	iii
Un tailleur	x
Un clerc de chapelle	vi
Deux sommeliers, chacun au gage de	vi
Un varlet de garde robe	vi
Un aide de garde robe	iiii
Un uissier de salle	vi
Un uissier de chambre	viii
Un varlet de pié	iiii
Un varlet des chiens	iii
Une lavandière	iiii
Une fruitière	vi

kept 'open house,' and a 'great rout' of retainers, apparently with the view of ingratiating themselves into favour with the lower classes. So inconstant is the favour of the populace of London, that in 1381 they pushed into the Thames all who would not declare for King Richard and the Commons. John of Gaunt had been the object of their persecution, and they razed his palace in the Savoy to the ground. He rebuilt it in such splendour, that Knyghton remarks it was the most magnificent in Europe. The furniture appears to have been superb, for it is said that one of his coverlets cost a thousand pounds. Mention is made of a coat of state so richly emblazoned with solid ornaments of gold and jewels that it was literally hacked to pieces before it could be destroyed. Notwithstanding his princely income, so profuse was his expenditure that he applied to his friend the Earl of Arundel for a loan of money, who sent it to him from Shrewsbury to London, escorted by several stout yeomen, 'on account of the danger of the road.'[1] The state of Henry's household in the first and eighth years of his reign was such as to elicit a remonstrance from his council. In the eighth year of his reign they presented two comptrollers for his election; and stated, that 'it seems necessary that moderate government should be ordained within the said household, such as may henceforth be continued, to the pleasure of God and the people.'[2]

But Richard's prodigality continually exhausted his treasury, and he did not scruple to replenish it by the confiscation of property obtained by the revocation of pardons, in contempt alike of justice and mercy. The Monk of Evesham and the Sloane MS. 1776, both mention one robe which cost thirty thousand marks. The Commons of Parliament complained of the

[1] Treasury accounts, Duchy of Lancaster Office.

[2] Proceedings of Council, i. 296, and Rot. Parl. iii. 579.

great number of ladies and bishops who were supported in the King's palace, whilst, as they remarked, the latter had lordships of their own.[1] To Leo King of Armenia, who came to England, he presented one thousand marks of gold in a gilt ship, with a grant of a pension of the same sum yearly.[2] In the year 1392, Richard wanted to borrow a thousand pounds from the City; but the loan was not only refused, but an Italian merchant who offered to lend it was cut in pieces by the populace. Richard soon seized a pretext to take away their charter, (which he had granted them but a few years before,) and to imprison their mayor. The charter was only restored upon the payment of a fine of ten thousand pounds, besides other ten thousand pounds for his entrance into the city, and two crowns of gold for him and his Queen.[3] At the same time, the King removed the courts of judicature to York, which was felt to be a sore grievance. In the seventeenth of his reign the citizens mention in their petition that 'the removal of the court, and the concourse of lords, was so much to their sorrow, distress, destruction, and insupportable loss, that they had paid a fine for its restoration;' and they complain that the clergy and widows refused to pay their proportion of the assessment made to raise the money, which was forty pence for every pound of rent.[4] It can excite no surprise that Richard's removal of the Parliament (to Shrewsbury) in 1398 should have raised the indignation of the citizens. In 1397, the King borrowed of the lords spiritual and temporal a sum amounting to 25,420*l.* sterling;[5] and by his blank charters, nicknamed Ragman's bonds, or 'le pleasaunce,'[6] he extorted immense sums from different

The King deprives the citizens of their charter;

removes the courts of judicature,

and the Parliament.

[1] Rot. Parl. iii. 339.
[2] Walsingham.
[3] Stow, ii. 348.
[4] Rot. Parl. iii. 325.
[5] Fœdera.
[6] Otterbourne.

counties:[1] he had besides sent Maudeleyn over to drain the treasury of Ireland,[2] and was thus enabled to leave the large property behind him, an account of which is given at page 263. 'In 1397-8,' says the London Chronicle, 'by sealing of blank charters the city of London paid to the King 1000*l.* All the men of every craft of the city, as well allowes and servants as the masters, were charged to come to the Yeld Hall to set their seals to the said blank charters.' These charters were filled up by Richard's creatures with such sums as they thought fit to impose. Those outstanding were repealed by Henry on his accession.[3] The progress of Richard and his Queen through his dominions was celebrated by costly presents which partook of the nature of extortion.[4]

Blank charters imposed.

A careful inspection of the Minutes of the Council and other documents of this reign will leave no room to doubt that Richard practised these and other illegal and oppressive methods of exacting money from his subjects. In the eleventh of Henry IV. William de Fulthorp complained of the tyrannical conduct of Richard in having compelled him to seal a deed without having heard it read, who said, 'Many better men than he had done so before him.'[5] In the early part of his reign he was accustomed to summon persons before the council without specifying for what reasons their attendance was required. They were commanded, in the most imperative terms, to appear, upon pain of forfeiting life and limb, and

[1] 'Eodem anno (1398) circa festum Sancti Michaelis, Rex præcepit judicari et condempnari 16 comitatus in Anglia. Et omnes comitatus prædicti solvebant, alii comitatus 100 marcas, aliqui vero 1000 libras, ponentes se in gratiam Regis. Omnes et viri religiosi, generosi, et plebei per totam Angliam posuerunt sigilla sua super albas cartas, Regis præcepto factas. Hoc enim creditur totum factum esse propter pecunias divitiasque colligendas.' (Monk of Evesham, ed. Hearne, 147.)

[2] Cotton. MS. Titus, B. 11.

[3] Rot. Parl. iii. 426.

[4] See Isabel's list of jewels.

[5] Rot. Parl. v. 393.

all which they possessed. Certain persons were exempt, provided they could treat with those members of the council, who only were allowed to be present when the fines to be paid by these persons were fixed, viz. the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the King's favourites, Bussy, Green, and Bagot.[1] This fact gives support to the complaint made by all the contemporary chroniclers, that, when Richard went to Ireland, he left the kingdom *to farm* to his then four favourites, Scrop, Bussy, Green, and Bagot.[2] That it was his custom to farm the subsidies appears from the petition of one William Hunt to the King and council. He had taken to farm of the council the subsidy of the aulnage in the county of Wilts, for a certain term of years, for one hundred marks a year. Another person having offered, from a sinister motive, to increase the said farm five marks a year, he prays that he may not be supplanted; which the King granted by advice of his council.[3]

The King farms the subsidies.

Another cause of serious complaint was the abominable conduct of his Cheshire guards, who were charged with taking the goods of the King's liege subjects without payment,[4] and with running over the kingdom, wounding the men, violating the women, and committing all manner of crimes, which the King did not care to redress.[5] That the King

Oppressions of his guards.

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[1] Proceedings of Council, i. pp. xxi. 75-77.

[2] See Fabyan, anno 1398-9.

[3] Proceedings of Council, i. 94.

[4] Richard was certainly never remarkable for punctuality in payment of his debts. Henry in the second year of his reign paid £43. 6*s*. 8*d*. to Nicholas Skelton, 'who had been sent to the coast towards Plymouth to arrest nefs and mariners for the passage of our dear lord and cousin the King Richard our predecessor, whom God absolve, with the lords and nobles in his company, from Sandwich and Dover, to the city of Calais, the 31st day of June, the nineteenth year of his reign'! (Miscellanea, late in the custody of the Queen's Remembrancer.)

[5] Rot. Parl. iii. 420.

had been accustomed to allow goods to be taken for the use of his household without payment, appears from Otterbourne,[1] and the contemporary poem published by the Camden Society;[2] and he was even accustomed to pardon the crimes of murder, rape, robbery, &c. for pecuniary considerations.[3] The sale of light coin had been so general that it was scarcely considered a crime, yet was it a subject of complaint.

Richard resorted to impressment for the navy, several orders for 'arresting' ships and seamen being extant; but in this he was not singular. Froissart gives a deplorable picture of the state of insecurity of property in England in the year 1399, of the delay of justice, and of the fears of the people that the Earl of Huntingdon had been sent to Calais to make a treaty with the King of France for its restoration.[4] He remarks, the people had not forgotten what their

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[1] 'Equos et quadrigas exigens, et alia necessaria profectione sua rapiens, nihilque resolvens.' (Otterbourne, 197.)

[2] 'For where was evere ony Cristen Kynge that ze evere knewe,
That held such an household be the half-delle
As Richard in this rewme, thoru myserule of other
That all his ffynis ffor ffauztis, ne his fee fermes
Ne fforffeyturis ffele that ffelle in his daies,
Ne the nownages (*nonages*) that newed him evere,
As March and Mowbray, and many mo other,
Ne alle the issues of court that to the Kynge longed,
Ne sellynge that sowkid (*sucked*) silver rith ffaste,
Ne alle the prophete of the lond that the prince owned,
Whane the countiss were caste, with the custum of wullus,
Myzte not a-reche, ne his rent nother,
To pay the pore peple that his purvyours toke,
Without preire at a parlement.'
(Contemporary alliterative poem.)

[3] Proceedings of Council, i. 85 and 86.

[4] I am inclined to think that the fears of the citizens were not without foundation, for I find Charles VI. thus instructing his ambassador, Sir Nicholas Paynel, in 1398. 'Item, lui parlira den (*d'un*) rançome du pais de Normandie et des Isles de Guernesey et de Jarsy purquoy le dit Messe Nicole a eu autrefois commission du Roy pour en traictier. Et mettra diligence que le besoigne pregne appointement selon le pouvoir à lui autrefois donné.' (Trésor des Chartres, viii. J. 644, art. 23.)

fathers had told them, that it was through the assistance of the men of London, (when they found Edward II. was so completely besotted with the Lord Hugh le Despencer,) that Isabella and her son were recalled, and Edward imprisoned.[1]

The research of Mr. Webb has suggested one source of the King's unpopularity with the country people, which if founded in fact, must have roused them to a high degree of irritation. The Earl Marshal (Mowbray Earl of Nottingham) requested the power of a compulsory colonization of the waste lands in Ireland, by removing thither a man and his wife from every parish or two parishes in England![2] If his request were indeed granted, (of which however I can discover no proof,) well might Walsingham say, 'Amarum animum vulgus commune gerebat contra eum.'

The King's want of enterprise,

But the most unfavourable comparison perhaps which the Londoners made between Richard and Henry, regarded the King's want of enterprise. They contrasted the renown which the one was justly gaining by his martial exploits, with the indolence and vain pomp of the other, who, while he was squandering immense sums on tournaments, had hardly ever exposed his person in war.[3] Whatever lessons he received from his military tutor Sir Guichard d'Angle (afterwards Earl of Huntingdon) were early obliterated by the society into which he was thrown: Henry, on the contrary, went in search of adventure.

compared with Henry's martial spirit.

In 1386 there were jousts at Smithfield. 'There bare him well,' says the London Chronicle, 'Sir Harry of Derby, the Duke's son of Lancaster.' In 1390 we find him taking part, with several other English knights, at a pas d'armes at Calais, against the Mar-

[1] Froissart, (book iv. c. 70.)
[2] Cotton. MS. Titus, B. 11 fol. 5. item 10. The fifth item seems to point to Mowbray.
[3] Rapin.

shal Boucicault, Renaud de Roie, and the Lord of Sempi.[1] At this entertainment Richard was present; but the Marquis de Saluces, who was also there, relates that very little account was taken of him.[2]

In 1390, Henry accompanied the Duke of Bourbon in his expedition to Barbary, where he acquired the affections of the young French nobles;[3] and in 1392 he joined the Teutonic Knights, who were carrying on a crusade in Lithuania, and he proceeded to the Holy Sepulchre.[4] Henry wished to have joined the Count of Ostrenant's expedition against Friesland in 1396, but he was dissuaded by the Duke of Guelders, and in consequence only a very few English knights and esquires joined the banner of Hainault: and finally, Henry was desirous of accompanying the Marshal Boucicault, who, with twelve hundred lancers, went to the aid of the Emperor of Constantinople; but the King, remembering the battle of Nicopolis, refused to let him run such perils.[5] From Henry's promise to the Londoners, after his accession, 'to lead them on to the war further than ever Edward had done,'[6] it may be concluded that he knew the prospect would be agreeable to them, and that Richard's alliance with France was a constant subject of discontent.

The favourable reception which the court of France

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[1] Notices des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi., v. 568.

[2] 'Plus loin, je trouvai les tentes du Roi d'Angleterre, jeune chevalier, fils de ce Prince de Galles qui avait fait prisonnier le Roi Jean. Autour de lui étoient mains hauls hommes, et en grand estat, et qui menoient grant buffoy, faisoient grans despens en leur mengier, mais de lui estoit encores petit renom tenuz. Richard avoit alors 29 (? 23) ans.' MS. du Chevalier errant. Bibl. du Roi.

[3] Pettitot, Tableau du règne de Charles VI. vol. vi.; and Treasurer's accounts, Duchy of Lancaster Office.

[4] Rot. Franc. 16 Ric. II. 27 June.

[5] M. de Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Burgogne, Paris, 1824, ii. 358.

[6] See page 248.

had given to his banished favourites, Suffolk and Oxford, and the restoration of Cherbourg and Brest, were standing subjects of discontent (see note [3], p. 119). It was also a subject of complaint, even amongst Richard's friends, that he copied the error of Rehoboam, and, not unnaturally, perhaps, considering the tender age at which he ascended the throne, chose his advisers from the younger courtiers, and gave the wardships and revenues of the young nobility who were minors to his foreign favourites, to the neglect and disgust of the ancient nobility.

Richard's dissolute character made him unpopular with the Lollards.

Another probable cause of Richard's unpopularity was his persecution of Wycliffe and his followers. Walsingham affirms with indignation, that at the beginning of Richard's reign, the Londoners were nearly all Lollards, and Knyghton remarks that a man could scarcely meet two persons on the road without one of them being a Wycliffite. That Henry's father, John of Gaunt, was their most firm supporter, is well known; and the Londoners in the main were attached to him. It was solely owing to his vigorous remonstrance with the Bishops in Parliament that the reading of the Bible was not prohibited to the laity. Richard's dissolute character may have probably made him unpopular with the more serious part of the people. Fabyan remarks, 'In this time reigned plenty of the filthy sin of fornication, with the abominable sin of adultery, especially in the King, but most chiefly in the prelacy, whereby the whole kingdom was so infect that it cried for the wrath and vengeance of God.'[1] So the Sloane MS. 1776, describing Richard's character, states, 'Luxuriæ nimis deditus, vigilator maximus, ita ut aliquando usque mane totam noctem in potacionibus duceret,' (fol. 37.)[2] The King and dominant clergy, on the

[1] Ed. Ellis, 542.

[2] The Monk of Evesham and the MS. Reg. c. 1, both contain this charge. They also implicate

other hand, branded the Wycliffites and god-fearing people with disloyalty.[1] A contemporary poem, too long to be inserted, after railing at those who 'jangle of Job or Jeremye,' continues:

4. 'Hit is unkyndly for a knight,
That shuld a kynges castel kepe,
To bable the Bibel day and night,
In restyng tyme when he shuld slepe,
And carefoly away to crepe;
For alle the chief of chivalrie,
Wel aught hym to waile and wepe,
That suyche lust hath in Lollardie.

5. 'An old castel and not repaired,
With wast walles and wowes wide,
The wages ben ful yvel wared,
With suich a capitayn to abide,
That rereth riot for to ride
Against the Kyng and his clergie,
With prive peyne and pore pride,
Ther is a poynt of Lollardie.

13. 'A God, what unkyndly gost
Shuld greve that God grucched nought!
Thes Lollardes that lothen ymages most,
With mannes hands made and wrought,
And pilgrimages to be sought,
Thei seien hit is but mawmetrie;
He that this love first up brought
Had gret lust in Lollardie.

15. 'And namly James[2] among hem alle,
For he twyes had ternement,
Moch mischaunse mot him befalle
That last beheded hym in Kent,
And alle that were of that assent;
To Crist of heven I clepe and crie,
Sende hem the same jugement,
And alle the sekte of Lollardie.'[3]

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the Bishops of Carlisle and Worcester as companions of the King's debauchery. The former authority adds 'in potacionibus *et aliis non dicendis*.' The words of the latter are, 'Isti duo episcopi cum Rege Ricardo, ut dictum fuit, multocies per majorem partem noctis concubuerunt.'

I strongly suspect that these three authors all copied from the same original.

[1] Kennett, Hist. of Eng. (fol. 1706, i. 272.)

[2] Jakke Straw (Chaucer).

[3] Cotton. MS. Vespasian, B. xvi. fo. 2[b]. Ritson has published it among his 'Ancient Songs,' under the title, 'A satire against the Lollards.'

According to the evidence of Sir John Bagot, Richard declared, that, 'if he should renounce the government of the kingdom, he wished to leave it to the Duke of Albemarle, as to the most able man (for wisdom and manhood) of all others; for though he could like better of the Duke of Hereford, yet he said that he knew, if he were once King, he would prove an extensive enemy and cruel tyrant to the Church.'[1] But the page of history records that Henry, after he had obtained the object of his ambition, lent the weight of his influence to Archbishop Arundel, who severely persecuted those Lollards, whom Henry had formerly patronized.[2] Although Richard commenced early a popular course, in promoting the rights of the crown against the Pope, (in which the bishops supported him with all their might),[3] in which course he uniformly

Henry a persecutor after his accession.

[1] Holinshed, 511.

[2] See the writ 'De apostata arestando,' 24 Mar. 1 Hen. IV. Rymer, Don. MS. Although it is neither just nor in good taste, to regard all afflictions as judgments upon men for their crimes, yet the following remarks of a Chancellor of Oxford, who flourished shortly afterwards, exhibit the feelings of no small class of the people.

'Consimiliter Thomas Arundel, B.A. et Arch. Cant. fecit cum suis constitutionem provincialem, ne quis non privilegiatus prædicaret populo sine licentiâ obtentâ Episcopi, quam habere non potest, nisi cum magnis instantiis aliorum, vel pro pecuniis.

'Et iste Arundel cito post illam constitutionem factam de verbo Dei alligando, fuit obtrusus in suo gutture, quod non potuit nec bene loqui, nec deglutire, et sic moriebatur; homines enim tunc crediderunt, quod Deus ligavit linguam ejus, quia ligaverat linguas quasi omnium prædicatorum propter paucos hæreticos, qui tunc à prædicatione fuerant suspensi.' (Collectanea Historica ex Dict. Theol. Thomæ Gascoignii, ed. Hearne, 1731, p. 520.)

[3] In the year 1383, a Cardinal de Malapell (alias des Ursins) was appointed to the Deanery of Sarum by the Pope; but Richard annulled his appointment, because it was not made with the concurrence of the chapter, and appointed Thomas of Montagu in his stead. (Rymer, March 6, 1383.) The Archbishop of Canterbury had, in 1393, made public protestation in Parliament that the Pope ought not to make translations without the King's leave. (Parl. Hist. i. 451.)

On the 27th of May 1398, a letter was sent from the King to the Council, requesting an assemblage of the judges to give their advice respecting episcopal translations, and requesting a convocation of the clergy of the province of York to deliberate

persisted during his reign; and although his enforcement of the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire was in favour of the English clergy (See Lingard, January 1393 and July 1394); yet Richard's bearing was haughty and offensive to them, and the banishment of the Archbishop was considered as an insult to the whole body. His elevation of unlearned monks to the prelacy brought him into collision with the chapters;[1] whilst his ransacking the abbeys for horses, his holding his Parliaments in the abbeys, and his continual visits to them with his numerous retinue, made him to be regarded in the light of their oppressor.[2] In 1376, the Commons, in a petition to King Edward III., required that no papal collector or proctor should remain in England, upon pain of life or limb; and yet we see his successor revelling at Lichfield in company with the Legate, and loading him with presents.[3] The Commons stated, 'That the tax paid to the court of Rome for ecclesiastical dignities amounted to five times more than that obtained by the King from the whole produce of the realm. 'For some one bishopric or other dignity the Pope is said to receive, by way of translation and death, three, four, or five several taxes; and while for money the

Richard's conduct to the clergy.

on the same subject. The report of the Council thereon is given in the Proceedings of the Privy Council, i. 80.

[1] Walsingham, Ypod. Neustr., 545.

[2] In the second year of his reign Richard assembled his Parliament at Gloucester, lodging by turns at the abbeys of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, to the great annoyance of the monks, who were often compelled to dine in their dormitories, and to witness the grass-plots of their cloisters trampled down with ball-playing and wrestling. (MS. Bibl. Cathed. Glouc. as quoted by Mr. Webb, Archæol. xx. 84.) In the fourth year of his reign his Parliament met at Northampton, in a chamber of one of the priories. (Parl. Hist. i. 358.) In 1398 the King held his birth-day in the palace of the Bishop of Lichfield. In his company were the Emperor of Constantinople and the Pope's Legate, Peter de Bosco. Such was their retinue, that twenty-six or twenty-eight oxen and three hundred sheep were consumed daily, and fowls without number. (Monk of Evesham, ed. Hearne, p. 148.)

[3] See p. 161.

brokers of that sinful city (Rome) promote many caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to a thousand marks' living yearly, the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty marks; whereby learning decayeth.' They complain, that 'the receiver of the Pope's pence transmitted annually to Rome twenty thousand marks, which were often expended in ransoming Frenchmen the King's enemies;' and that 'enemies and aliens to this land, who never saw nor care to see their parishioners, have those livings, whereby they despise God's service, and convey away the treasures of the realm, and are worse than Jews or Saracens.'[1] After such grievances from foreigners, which were partly remedied by severe enactments in the 12th and 19th of Richard, Richard's alliance with France can not have been otherwise than displeasing to his people.[2]

Murder of the Duke of Gloucester.

One other subject of discontent is manifest from the pages of this chronicle. The murder of the brave Duke of Gloucester, and the execution of the gallant Arundel, roused the indignation of the Londoners against the King to the highest pitch. They accom-

[1] From 1304 to 1378 all the pontiffs were Frenchmen. Clement VII., a Genevese, who lived till the end of the century, had been Bishop of Cambray. Mosheim describes the avarice and encroachment of the Avignon Popes (iii. 316, 318).

[2] It has been stated by Mr. Godwin, that Chaucer, who had married Philippa, an elder sister of Catherine Swynford, and had thus become identified with the Lancastrian party, had contributed in a considerable degree, in conjunction with John of Northampton, mayor of London in the early part of this reign, to excite the dissatisfaction of the Londoners, and that in consequence he fled to his father-in-law's (Sir Payne Roet's) house in Hainau. Although Sir Harris Nicolas has shewn, by diligently following Chaucer's course, (Life and Poems of Chaucer, ed. 1845, vol. i.,) that he could not have been thus absent from England, and that he was always in favour at court; yet a treasury order to him to receive ten pounds from the hands of the treasurer of Calais, 21st February 1400, (Pell Rolls, Michs. Term, 1 Hen. IV.,) appears a probable proof of his having been absent on the continent, and gives rise to some suspicion as to the cause.

panied Arundel to the scaffold, openly manifesting their sympathy; and even Gower, who when he wrote his poem was not unfavourable to Richard, disapproved of his conduct.[1] It is not proposed to attempt a delineation of Richard's character, or some redeeming qualities might be mentioned; but a sketch is inserted in Appendix F, drawn by an Englishman and a Lancastrian, compared with another drawn by a friendly hand, but a foreigner's.

Henry instigated to seize the crown by the Duke of Orleans.

If we may credit the Duke of Burgundy, Henry conspired with the Duke of Orleans against Richard, upon the condition that Henry should assist him to obtain the throne of France. It appears that the cause of the Duke of Orleans' enmity to Richard was his having recommended the King of France to be upon his guard against his treason.[2]

The story of Richard's assassination.

It may be expected that some remarks should be offered as to the degree of credence to be given to the account of Richard's assassination in the text. I think it is apparent that this story owes its origin to foreign malevolence or policy; and it is curious that its authorship can be traced to Creton,[3] who had

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[1] Heu qui regalis stirps Angliæ tam specialis,
Regis precepto periit sine crimine cœpto, &c.
(Chronica tripertita, Tiberius, A. 4, p. 156, dorso.)

[2] See the speech of Maistre Jean Petit, when extenuating the Duke of Burgundy's conduct before the court of France. (Chron. of the Monk of St. Denys, B. xxviii. c. 34. Consult also Monstrelet.)

[3] The manuscript No. 8323 Regius, Bibliothèque du Roi, which contains the fourth book of Froissart, has the following addition:

'Pour ce que vous, Sire Jehan Froissart, qui fait avez les chroniques de guerre de France et d'Angleterre, sur votre quart volume vous taisez de la mort du noble Roy Richard, Roy d'Angleterre, en vous excusant par une manière de dire que au jour que vous feistes vostre dit quart volume vous n'estiez point informé de la manière de sa mort; a celle fin qu'elle ne soit point oubliée ni mise en ruyne, et que tous vaillans hommes se puissent mirer et exemplier ou fait douloureux de sa mort, je fais savoir

previously expressed his conviction that Richard was alive, and had sent him a sympathising epistle. Mr. King, an antiquary of eminence, has stated in the sixth volume of the Archæologia, p. 311, some circumstances which led him to conclude that Richard

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à tous, ainsi que j'ay esté informé par homme digne de foy, nommé Creton, et par escript de sa propre main, lequel pour ce temps estoit en Angleterre et ou païs; et escript ce que je vous dirai : que le Roy Richard d'Angleterre fut occis et mis à mort en la tour de Londres par ung jour de Roys, l'an mil trois cens et quatre vingt et dix neuf, par la manière qui s'ensuit. Vérité est, ainsi que certeffie le dit Creton, que le jour des Roys, l'an mil trois cens quatre vingt dix neuf susdit, le Roy Henry, ennemy du dit Richard, qui par avant avoit esté bany d'Angleterre chacun scet et cognoist, estant sur les champs hors de Londres, avec plusieurs gens qui là estoient assemblez pour aler combatre aucuns princes qui s'estoient mis sus pour secourir leur seigneur droitturier le Roy Richard, icelluy Roy Henry commanda à ung sien chevallier nommé Messire Pierre d'Exton que il allast de bon alleure faire finer de ce monde Jean de Bordeaulx que on nommoit Roy Richard, car il voulloit que le jugement de Parlement feust acomply et fait. Lequel chevalier, c'est assavoir Sire Pierre d'Exton, aiant ce commandement du dit Roy Henry, se part tout prestement de luy; et s'en alla au chastel de Londres, armé et habillé, là ou estoit le Roy Richard, qui y cuidoit disner en paix, et au moins de tant que apaissier se povoit, car tousjours se doubtoit-il bien de ce qu'il lui advint.'

Then he proceeds to give an account of Richard's death, agreeing with the version of this chronicle. After the remark that he died without confession, he adds:

'Et qui en dit autrement il ne dit pas vérité, car par la révélacion de ceulx mesmes qui furent à sa mort il a esté sceu et revélé.

'Touteffois l'oppinion de ceulx d'Angleterre est que lui mesmes se laissa mourir de faim, pour la très grant douleur que il avoit de ce que il estoit ainsi trahy, et aussy de la mort de son frère, car il jura que jamais ne mangeroit. Et quant le Roy Henry le sceut, il y envoia aucuns prelatz auxquelz il se confessa, lesquelz lui enjoingnirent que il mengeast; mais quant il cuida mengier il ne peut; si le convint ainsi mourir. Et j'ay tenu aucunes escriptures, lesquelles disoient que il mourut par force et raige de faim que les Anglois lui firent souffrir, et que lui mesmes mengea une partie de ses mains et de ses bras.

'Néanmoins, comment que il en soit advenu, touteffoiz mourut-il pitieusement et mal à l'honneur des Anglois. Dieu lui face vray mercy, et à tous autres nobles qui pour l'amour de lui eurent moult à souffrir! Car je croy que s'il eust esté informé de sa mort, quant il cronisa la cronique de sa vie il ne l'eust jà mis en scilence.' Compare p. 104.

was not murdered by Sir Piers Exton in Pontefract castle. He remarks, that the chamber in which, according to tradition and probability, the King was confined, and of which he has given a plan, was formed in the thickness of the wall, and had two very small windows looking into the court, but was much too small for the enactment of the drama. It is therefore probable that the 'cruel hackings and furieblows' on a post in the round tower, shewn by the warders to tourists, are of about equal authority with the chamber still shewn in the Hôtel Bourgthéroude at Rouen as that where Joan of Arc was tried, although it is ascertained that that interesting specimen of domestic architecture was not erected until many years after her execution.

Mr. Tytler's hypothesis of Richard's escape.

As Mr. Tytler's hypothesis of the escape of Richard from Pontefract castle has lately received considerable support from some documents lately discovered in the Record Office, which will be presently alluded to, it appears desirable to give a brief summary of the evidence which that gentleman has adduced in support of his opinion, as contained in an appendix to the third volume of his History of Scotland.

He quotes Bower,

The first authority he quotes is Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, one of the most ancient and authentic of our early historians, who bears testimony to the escape of Richard from Pontefract castle, and states that Donald, Lord of the Isles, sent him to Robert the Third, by whom, as long as he lived, he was supported as became his rank; that he was visited in Scotland, about the time of the death of Robert, by many distinguished persons, amongst whom he mentions the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy the younger, the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, the Abbot of

Welbeck, and Lord Bardolph; but he adds, King Richard would in no wise be persuaded to have a private interview with the Earl of Northumberland;[1] and he concludes by stating that Richard died on the feast of St. Luke, in the year 1419, in the castle of Stirling.

Andrew Winton.

Bower is corroborated by his predecessor, Andrew Winton, Prior of Lochleven, who states that Richard was delivered from Pontefract by two gentlemen of rank and reputation, Swinburn and Waterton;[2] that he fled in disguise, in a state of real or apparent madness, to one of the 'out' Isles of Scotland, where he was discovered by a lady of the family of Bisset, a daughter of an Irish lord, who had married a brother of the Lord of the Isles, and who had seen King Richard in Ireland. To her Richard denied that he was the King of England (which an impostor would not have done); notwithstanding, her husband sent him to the Lord Montgomery: afterwards he was kept by Robert King of Scotland, and, after his death, by the Duke of Albany.

A MS. in the Advocates' Library.

The testimony of Bower and Winton is confirmed by an ancient manuscript in the Advocates' Library, entitled 'Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiæ;' with this important addition, that 'Richard died in the castle of Stirling in the aforesaid year, and was buried on the feast of St. Lucia the Virgin, on the north side of the

[1] The Earl's protracted visit to Scotland with his son Hotspur was matter of complaint. 'Le dit Henry (*Northumberland*) estoit adhereant et demurant long temps en Escoce, conseillant, moevant, et procurant a tout son poair les Escotes a faire damage et guerre a n're S^r^ le Roy,' &c. (Rot. Parl. iii. 605.)

[2] Richard was delivered by one of Sir Robert Waterton's yeomen and three others, (see Appendix A;) but it does not appear that it was with Sir Robert's connivance. The presumption is that it was not, or, as Mr. Amyot observes (Archæol. xxiii. 277), he would not have continued in Henry's favour. It is right to state that Mr. Amyot has shewn that Henry *did demand* the delivery of the 'mammet,' although without effect. (Id. p. 297.)

high altar of the Preaching Friars, above whose royal image, there painted, it is thus written:

Richard's epitaph.

'Angliæ Ricardus jacet hic Rex ipse sepultus,
Loncaste quem Dux dejecit arte, mota prodicione,
Prodicione potens, sceptro potitur iniquo.
Supplicium luit hunc ipsius omne genus.
Ricardum inferis hunc Scotia sustulit annis
Qui caustro Striveling vite peregit iter
Anno milleno quaterceno quoque deno
Et nono Christi Regis finis fuit iste.'[1]

The Chamberlain of Scotland's accounts.

The next direct evidence adduced by Mr. Tytler is that furnished by the Chamberlain's accounts, in which there are three distinct entries in the years 1414, 1415, and 1417, stating that the lord governor had not received any allowance for the expenses and burdens which he sustained for the custody of King Richard of England, from the time of the death of the late King his brother, a period of eleven years, which expenses were estimated by the lords auditors at the sum of 733*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Inference that Richard had escaped from prison.

It is singular that Mr. Tytler has been able to draw an inference that Richard had escaped, (and very fairly,) from the present chronicle.[2] Upon the rising of the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Salisbury, Henry, upon being reproached by the Earl of Warwick for his lenity, which had brought him into danger, used the remarkable expression, that 'If he should meet Richard now, one of them should die.' (See page 83.) Could Henry have so expressed himself unless he really believed that Richard had escaped, and was about to meet him in the field?

Mr. Tytler next notices Creton's assertion that

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[1] This inscription is mentioned by Boece. The church existed in his day.

[2] He is not quite correct in his description, no MS. on the death of Richard by Berry Roy d'Armes being known in the Bibliothèque du Roi. The MS. that bore that author's name was in England, and is quoted by Thomas Carte in his History of England. See p. viii. ante.

he did not think the body exhibited in St. Paul's was that of Richard; and the very striking fact that Creton, in the year 1405, addressed an epistle to King Richard expressing joy at his escape;—he adduces the fact that one William Balshalf of Lancashire fought to prove his assertion that King Richard was alive and well in Scotland;[1]—that Serle, one of the gentlemen of Richard's bedchamber, had been to Scotland, and brought letters from Richard under his privy seal to his friends in England;—that Henry never demanded the production of the impostor as he termed him, as Henry the Seventh stipulated for Perkin Warbeck;—that Henry's knowledge of Richard's existence is evident from one of his proclamations;[2]—that the French, even according to Walsingham, landed in 1404, at the Isle of Wight, and demanded supplies in the name of King Richard;—that the Earl of Northumberland seized Sir Robert Waterton, Henry's Master of the Horse, in 1405, after which he wrote to the Duke of Orleans, stating that he had risen 'to embrace the just quarrel of my sovereign lord King Richard, if he is alive, and if he is dead, to avenge his death;'[3]—that Thomas

Creton's disbelief in Richard's death.

[1] Rymer, Fœdera, vii. 262.

[2] Fœdera, viii. 384.

[3] It may be objected, that if the Earl of Northumberland, after the capture of Sir Robert Waterton, in 1405, had received positive intelligence of the existence of Richard, he would certainly have published it. But it has already been remarked, that the Earl had paid a visit to Richard, but was refused an interview. This circumstance may have had some influence with a man of his known uncontrollable temper, and it is very probable that Richard's mental imbecility had quite unfitted him for again wearing the crown. But immediately after that event the earl wrote the celebrated letter to the Duke of Orleans, in which he expressed his determination to support the cause of his sovereign Lord King Richard, if he was alive, &c., which would be sufficiently intelligible to Henry; and following up his letter, he immediately seized Berwick and delivered it up to the Scots. Mr. Tytler had anticipated Sir James Mackintosh's objection, and has since answered it by the argument of Mr. Amyot, that the affix of the diluting words 'ut vulgariter dicitur' to the charge

Ward of Trumpington, the supposed impostor, according to Henry, is not mentioned by the contemporary historians, Otterbourne and Walsingham, and that Henry the Fifth called him a Scot;—that there is every probability that the Earl of Cambridge and his friends had conspired, in 1415, to replace Richard, and that they suffered the penalty of death for their loyalty;—that Lord Cobham declared, in 1417, he would acknowledge no judge, 'so long as his liege lord King Richard was alive in Scotland;'[1]—and lastly, (omitting minor considerations,) that, in 1417, Henry the Fifth detected a plot of the Duke of Orleans to bring in King Richard, which led to his strict confinement in Pontefract castle.

Mr. Tytler's hypothesis has called up, as might have been expected, a host of distinguished opponents. Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lingard, Sir Harris Nicolas, Lord Dover, Mr. Amyot, Miss Strickland, and Mr. Dillon.

The Scotch historians have always maintained that Richard took refuge in Scotland.

I cannot agree with Miss Strickland in calling the story of the escape of Richard a *modern* paradox. The Scotch historians have always referred to it. In the 'Histoire Abrégée de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre, et Escosse, par David Chambers, Conseillier de la Cour du Parlement d'Edinbourg' (Paris, 1585), will be found these words: 'Et apres qu'il (Richard) eut resigné la couronne, et l'avoir mise sur la teste de Hēry, fut mis à mort dans le chasteau de Ponfret, par l'expedition de Pierre d'Exton, ou selon plusieurs historiens Escossois, mourut au pays d'Escosse, y estant pour lors fugitif.'

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of murder, in the Yorkshire proclamation, sinks the whole into a mere rumour. But Mr. Tyler, in his Life of Henry of Monmouth, has given good grounds for suspecting the genuineness of that document.

[1] The admissions of the Earl of March when suing for his life cannot be received in evidence; and as to Lord Cobham, it is manifest that it was his unshaken devotion to Richard, rather than his heresy, that cost him his life.

Much stress has been laid upon a minute of the great council, the date of which is not exactly ascertained, but which is referred by Sir H. Nicolas to a very few days before the 24th of February 1400. That the minutes were drawn up *after* the 2nd of February, the feast of the Purification, is self-apparent, as Sir H. Nicolas allows.[1] The point for consideration was, 'That if Richard the late King be alive, as *it is supposed he is*, it be ordered that he be well and surely guarded for the salvation of the state of the King and of his kingdom;' on which subject the council subsequently resolved, in the absence of Henry, that 'it was necessary to speak to the King, that in case Richard the late King, &c. be still living, he be placed in surety, agreeable to the lords of the realm; but if he be dead, that then he be openly shewn to the people, that they might have knowledge thereof.'

It is remarkable, however, that no attention has been paid to the statement of this chronicle, repeated by Le Laboureur, and remarked upon by Carte, that the death of Richard was reported to have taken place as early as the 6th of January, and that consequently the Privy Council, when they recorded the minutes of the month of February, must have been perfectly cognizant either of Richard's death, *or of his escape, and are thus convicted of a deliberate attempt to impose upon the public.*

The Privy Council convicted of deliberate fraud.

Carte remarks that the report of Richard's death had reached Paris in the course of the month of January, when Charles was preparing a great fleet to invade England in order to restore his son-in-law to the throne.[2] In the preceding October he had issued

[1] Minutes of Privy Council, i. 112.

[2] Hist. of England, ii. 610; so also Hall.

letters to the inhabitants of the towns situated on the frontiers of the kingdom, near the sea and within six leagues of it in Normandy and in Picardy, beyond the river Somme, requiring them to keep watch, and that the captains should be in residence;[1] but the news of Richard's death stopped the proposed invasion. The truce signed by Charles on the 29th of January[2] is evidence that the report of Richard's death had then reached him. Rymer has given it in his Fœdera, and a contemporary copy is preserved in the Archives at Paris, with three other letters from Charles to his ambassadors, then at Boulogne, all of the same date, in which he speaks of Richard as deceased, with the addition of the usual words, 'Que Dieu assoile,' and in which he particularly instructs his ambassadors not to give to Henry the title of King of England.[3]

A messenger sent in extreme haste from Pontefract castle.

Something of importance had evidently occurred. Capt. Thomas Swynford, probably a relative of Henry's mother-in-law, and certainly one of Richard's keepers, (who was subsequently captain of Calais,) had sent his valet with tidings to the Privy Council, in such haste that he was allowed the hire of an extra horse.[4]

Mr. Tytler would doubtless contend that the object of the valet's journey was to acquaint the council of Richard's escape; and it must be confessed that a

[1] Ordonnances des Rois de France de troisième Race, vol. viii.

[2] 'Charles, par la grace de Dieu, Roy de France. Comme l'an de Grace mil ccc xc et vi, vivant lors feu nostre très chier et très ame filz Richart nagnères Roy d'Angleterre, que Dieux absoille, certaines treves generales eussent este prins, &c. &c.

'Donné à Paris le xxix jour de Jannier l'an de Grace mille ccc xc ix et le xx de nostre regne.' (Rymer, Fœdera.)

[3] Archives du Royaume, J. 649. art. 23.

[4] Die Sabb. xx die Marcii. Cuidam vallecto Thomæ Swynford militis venienti de castro de Pountefreyt versus Londinum ad certificandum consilio regis de certis materiis commodum domini Regis concernentibus. In denariis sibi liberatis pro vadiis et expensis suis et locatione unius equi causa festinacionis viagii predicti, xxvi. *s.* viii. *d.* Pell Issue Rolls, Michs. Term. 1 Hen. IV.

multitude of circumstances arise, as so many demi-proofs in corroboration of this fact, with which they are in perfect keeping. Following up their system of deception, the council paid on the 17th of February (or possibly some days sooner, for entries were not made until after the time of payment) a sum of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to Thomas Tuttebury, clerk, by the hands of William Pamplion, for the expense he would incur in conveying the body of Richard from Pomfret to London, for which he was to account.[1] Supposing Richard to have really died on the 6th of January, decomposition must so far have advanced by the 12th of March, ten weeks after death, as to render recognition almost impossible; but the farce of the exhibition of the substituted head of Richard, (probably that of Maudeleyn) may have been contrived by the council with a view to prove their devotion to Henry, to endeavour to establish the Lancastrian dynasty, and to blind the eyes of the French, of whose invasion great apprehension was entertained. Supposing that Richard made his escape from prison, it would doubtless be timed in concert with the rising of his friends in his favour. We find accordingly that they rose on the 4th of January, and were at Cirencester on Tuesday the 6th. Henry's proclamation for the arrest of the Earl of Huntingdon is dated the preceding day. Walsingham is quite in error in placing the rising a week later.[2] It was on this day also that Henry, having taken the field in expectation of en-

Richard's remains must have undergone decomposition.

Richard's friends acted in concert with him.

[1] Die Martis xvii. Feb. Thomæ Tuttebury clerico custodi garderobæ domini Regis. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus Willielmi Pamplionis scutiferi super expensis faciendis super cariagio corporis Ricardi nuper Regis Angliæ de villa de Pomfrayt usque Londonum per breve suum currens de privato sigillo ut supra. lxvi. *li.* xiii. *s.* iiij. *d.* unde respondebit. Pell Issue Rolls, Mich. Term, 1 Hen. IV.

[2] See Merks' pardon, 28 Nov. 1400. Fœdera.

countering Richard, used the remarkable words, that if he should meet him, one of them should die. The Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury not having succeeded in capturing Henry and his sons in Windsor castle, owing to the treachery of Rutland, went with all haste to Queen Isabel, who was then staying at Sunning near Reading. According to Walsingham, decidedly, however, a Lancastrian partisan, the Duke of Surrey dissembled his mortification, but said, 'I mean to go to Richard, who was, and is, and shall be our King, *for he has escaped from prison*, and now lies at Pontefract,[1] with a hundred thousand men to defend him.' He then contemptuously took off the collars, the badges of Henry, from the necks of some of the household, tore off the crescents from their arms, and threw them away. The Queen then accompanied him by way of Wallingford and Abingdon to Cirencester.

The measures taken by the Privy Council.

What were the measures taken by the council? A messenger was sent towards the north marches, most probably with instructions to the keeper to intercept Richard.[2] The council requested Henry to proceed in person towards Scotland with all the haste he could.[3] Pembroke castle (Queen Isabel's private property) and all the other castles on the sea-board, were ordered to be well guarded from the invasion of the enemy; and notwithstanding Charles's confirmation of the truce, a ship called the Catherine of Guernsey was employed for five weeks to watch the proceedings of

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[1] 'Ad pontem de Radcote,' according to Otterbourne.

[2] Die Sabb. xx die Marcii. Roberto Hethecote scutifero misso precepto domini Regis in secretis negotiis ipsius domini Regis versus partes boreales. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias pro vadiis custubus et expensis suis et hominum suorum secum equitancium et redeuncium in servicio Regis predicti iiij *li.* Pell Issue Rolls, Michs. Term, 1 Hen. IV.

[3] Minutes of Council, i. 119.

the French, as to whether they were collecting a fleet or not.'[1] The seneschal was ordered to take the extraordinary precaution of arming the King's menial servants, and to establish a constant and nightly watch over his person;[2] and William Loveney, who, having followed Henry to the continent, may be presumed to have been in his confidence, was sent to Pontefract,[3] probably to carry the head of Maudeleyn, who so strongly resembled Richard, to figure in the procession to London; and it is to be observed that the head alone, from the forehead (without the hair) was exhibited, the rest of the body being soldered in lead.[4] The motive for the hasty and private interment of these remains, and for dispensing with the usual dinner or supper is now obvious. Henry, conscious, no doubt, that the court of France would be likely to detect his imposition, ordered the Archbishop of York, and all the bishops throughout England, to prepare all their ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, to be armed, regimented, and ready to take the field upon

The head of Maudeleyn probably sent to Pontefract.

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[1] Die Sabb. xxi die Feb. Matheo Guylmyne magistro navellæ vocatæ la Katerine de Gernesey misso ad explorandum super mare de congregacione navium et aliorum vasorum minutorum Regis, si aliqua congregacio fuerit sicut statutum erat domino Regi et consilio suo. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias pro vadiis suis et quinque marinariorum in dicta navella secum existencium per quinque septimanas in servicio domini nostri Regis predicti in viagio predictis. lx. *s.* Pell Issue Rolls, Michs. Term, 1 Hen. IV.

[2] Minutes of Council, i. 108—110.

[3] Die Sabb. xx die Marcii. Willielmo Loveney clerico magnæ garderobæ domini Regis misso precepto domini Regis in secretis negociis ipsius domini Regis versus castrum et villam de Pountfreyt. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias pro vadiis custubus et expensis suis et hominum suorum secum equitantium, et redeuntium causa servicii Regis predicti lxvj. *s.* viij. *d.*

Cuidam alio vallecto misso de Londino ex parte consilii Regis versus castrum de Pountfreyt tutoribus et custodibus corporis Ricardi nuper Regis Angliæ secundi. In den. sibi liberatis per manus proprias pro vadiis et expensis suis. vj. *s.* viij. *d.* Pell Issue Rolls, Michs. Term, 1 Hen. IV.

[4] See page 262.

the first notice, to oppose the enemy.[1] He subsequently sent a similar notice to the Abbot of St. Albans, on the 21st of April.[2] But an objection to this hypothesis has been raised by the late Sir James Mackintosh, and repeated with warmth by Miss Strickland, who has given us so lively a delineation of Richard's interesting Queens. They urge that Henry would never have risked the succession by requesting the hand of Isabel for the Prince of Wales had he not been convinced of Richard's death; and that the marriage of Isabel, which took place in 1406, affords a tolerable presumption that her family had sufficient assurance of the same fact. It is apparent that the court of France was, at first, satisfied with Henry's positive assurance of Richard's death; and that owing to the illness of Charles, consequent on his receiving that intelligence, his uncles were glad to abandon their projected invasion of England; and that although Henry solicited the hand of Isabel for the Prince of Wales, the court of France treated his ambassadors with contempt. Had, however, his proposals been listened to, there could have been no difficulty, as Sir H. Nicolas observes, in obtaining a divorce from the Pontiff, for the marriage of Richard with Isabel had never been consummated, and the state of the Holy See was not then such as to permit it to refuse any request urged by France and England united. It is manifest, however, that the relatives of Isabel did not consider a divorce to be necessary. I do not know why our historians should have overlooked the fact that Henry, being unwilling to return Isabel's jewels and marriage portion, did actually commission ambassadors to negotiate a marriage between Isabel and the Prince of Wales in November

The objection that Isabel was not at liberty to marry.

The hand of Isabel claimed by the Prince of Wales in the lifetime of Richard.

[1] Rymer, Fœdera. [2] Idem.

1399, whilst Richard was yet alive.[1] It is true that the commissioners were authorised to make a proposal of marriage between one of Henry's sons and one of the daughters of the French monarch; but the French chroniclers assert that the application was for the hand of Isabel,[2] for whom young Henry had conceived an ardent affection; and moreover, Charles had no other daughter sufficiently old to be marriageable. Isabel, the eldest of the family, had not completed her twelfth year.

Charles VI. contended that Isabel was free.

Amongst the Archives at Paris are preserved two important contemporary documents which maintain the common-sense view of the question,—that Isabel having been separated from her affianced husband before she had attained the age of twelve years, was, *ipso facto*, free from all 'ties and obligations' of marriage. The first of the two documents is a portion of a receipt sent by Charles, upon Isabel's return to France, to his ambassadors, to be forwarded to Henry for his signature,[3] and in which he particularly in-

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[1] Rymer, Fœdera.

[2] See Mezeray; also MS. 10212 [3] Bibl. du Roi, as given at p. 106 of this volume; and Creton's letter to the Duke of Burgundy, quoted by Mr. Dillon in vol. xxviii. of the Archæologia, 'ton ennemy le lierre de Lancastre, car sa faulce intention estoit telle de la donner à son fils aisné, lequel tu feis chevalier à grant honneur et a grant joye en Irlande.'

[3] Instructions à l'Evesque de Chartres, Jehan de Poupaincourt, Jehan de Hangest, Seigneur de Heugueville, chevaliers conseilliers, et Maister Gontier Col, secretaire du Roy. Et il soit ainsi que la dicte condicion soit avenue, et que avant la consumacion du dit mariage, ainsi quil a plue a nostre Seigneur, le dit Roy soit alé de vie a trespassement. . . . . Pourveu que on ne l'appelle point Roy en ycelle quittance . . . . . Archives du Royaume, J. 649, art. 1. 8th April 1401.)

'Instructions baille de par le Roy au Sire de Heugeuville et a Maistre Pierre Blanchet, envoiez de par lui en Angleterre. Premierement quant ils seront par dela diront a cellui qui se dit Roy Dengleterre.

'Que elle ne die ne face aucune chose par quoy elle soit obligée par parole ne par fait, par mariage ne autrement a quelque personne que ce soit, par quoy elle ne puisse rendoie (*sic*) et retourner devers eulx franche et desliee de tous liens et obli-

structs them not to give to Henry the title of King; the second document is a proclamation by Isabel, in which Richard's death is referred to as a report, but is evidently not believed by her. It is given in Appendix B.

Reference to the conduct of Isabel.

Reference should surely be made to the conduct of Isabel. Towards the close of the year 1403, and the beginning of 1404, she made repeated attempts to land in England, but without success, owing to the stormy state of the weather and the vigilance of Henry's cruisers. For a period of more than six long years did she remain a widow, nor did the King of France consent to her marriage until, by the death of Robert King of Scotland, and of his son the Duke of Rothsay, and by the capture by Henry of the heir of the Scottish throne (James I.), all her hopes of the restoration of Richard must have been extinguished; for what prospect of success in opposing Henry could the Duke of Albany entertain, even with the assistance of France, whilst Henry was in possession of a prisoner so important to Scotland? Moreover, her second husband, the Duke of Orleans, was a mere boy at the time of their union;[1] at her wedding, her

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gacions de mariage et autres quelconques. Le vj jour dapril lan de Grace mil cccc (1401).' Idem, art. 11.

With these documents is preserved (art. 12) a copy of the instructions to the ambassadors sent to Scotland at the same time, saying that Charles had had great difficulty in sending to the Duke of Albany, as Henry kept his vessels on the sea, and that he must not imagine the King of France approved of the title the Duke (Henry) had assumed.

I much regret that this is the only document I could discover in the Archives, or the Royal Library at Paris, between the courts of France and Scotland at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

[1] Charles Duke of Orleans was born in May 1391, and consequently had but just completed his fifteenth year at the time of his marriage, which took place in June 1406. (The vidimus of the letters patent of Charles VI. allowing the marriage, preserved amongst the original MSS. of the Duke of Orleans in the Bibl. du Roi, is dated Mar. 1406.) Mr. Webb has erred in the Duke's age, and Mr. Dillon has antedated his marriage two years.

grief was excessive, the court declaring that it was on account of her losing the title of Queen of England; but we have seen that she was careful not to speak of Richard as deceased,[1] and her thoughts were doubtless with him. She did not become a mother until three years after her second marriage.

Mr. Dillon's objections noticed.

Mr. Dillon states that the marriage of Isabel was ratified immediately after the return of Creton from Scotland, where the King of France had sent him;[2] but it may be asked would Charles have sent him to Scotland in the autumn of 1405, or the spring of 1406, three of his own ambassadors being then or having lately been in that country,[3] if he had not known of Richard's existence? Whatever it might suit Creton, the valet de chambre of the King of France, to publish, the impression upon the minds of many will be that he had an interview with Richard at Stirling, and that he found him in such a state of mental imbecility that he considered him politically dead, or that Richard preferred to be so considered, rather than his few remaining friends should make any renewed attempt for his restoration, and cause a fresh effusion of blood.[4] But indeed the indignities which were heaped upon Richard at Flint,—during his progress to London,—when confined in the Tower and in the different castles to which he was successively removed,—which it is evident from the

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[1] So the Duke of Berry, in the receipt which he gave for Isabel on her return to France, speaking of Richard, did not say, 'whom God assoil,' but made use of the doubtful expression, 'felicis recordacionis tunc Regis Angliæ consanguinei nostri.' Archives du Royaume, J. 649, art. 18.

[2] Archæologia, xxviii.

[3] Rot. Parl. iii. 605.

[4] Hall relates, that Richard, when in the Tower of London, requested Henry to grant 'that he might live a private and solitary life, with the sweetness whereof he should be so well pleased, that it should be a pain and a punishment to him to go abroad.' Chronicles, f. v.

narrative of our chronicler he keenly felt, were sufficient, especially with his superadded grief for the loss of his relations and friends, to impair the balance of his naturally weak mind.

The comments of Mr. Dillon upon Creton's letters to Richard and the Duke of Burgundy[1] are entitled to some notice; but his remarks are very illogical, and in many places incorrect, and he allows that the documents he has produced contain no direct information. Mr. Dillon has advanced the following statements, without, as it appears, any satisfactory foundation. First, that Creton wrote his letter to the Duke of Burgundy after his return from Scotland; and, secondly, that Isabel was married to Charles of Orleans immediately after his return.

If the former assertion be correct, Creton must have returned from Scotland before October 1402, at the latest, when Philip Duke of Burgundy was elected Regent of Brittany; but Isabel was not married until 29th June 1406,[2] when Charles of Orleans had only just completed his fifteenth year. The contract appears to have been made in 1404. It was in 1410 that Creton was remunerated for his journey to Scotland; and although he is said to have undertaken that journey awhile ago (pieça) it was not, as Mr. Dillon's quotations lead us to infer, *grant* pieça, a long time ago. Mr. Dillon states that the court of France did not recognise Henry as King during the progress of the negociations for Isabel's return. He should have stated that it *never* recognised Henry's right to the throne. On the 26th May 1404, upon the levy of an aid to resist the enterprise of Henry, he is called 'Henry de Lenclastre soy-disant Roy d'Engle-

The court of France never recognised Henry as King.

[1] Archæol. xxviii. 75.

[2] Père Anselme, Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France, i. 208; ed. of 1726.

terre.'[1] Louis Duke of Orleans once recognised him as King, and addressed him as such in a letter dated the 4th of August 1402.[2] Having probably the intention to marry his son to Isabel, it suited his purpose so to do; although, on his refusal to meet him in private combat, he called him 'Harry de Lancaster, Ravissant et Regent indeument ou Royaume d'Angleterre,' and shewed his disbelief that it was Richard's body that was interred at Langley. Witness his spirited invective, 'Où est sa vie? où est son corps?'[3]

Mr. Dillon should not have stated that Henry never demanded the hand of Isabel for his eldest son.

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[1] Ordonnances des Roys de France de troisième Race, ix. 4.

[2] Monstrelet.

[3] The following extract from a letter of Louis Duke of Orleans, to Henry IV., dated 14th Oct. 1403, appears to merit insertion. It is taken from the Collection of the MSS. de Brienne, Bibl. du Roi, xxxiv. 239.

'Quand au trespas de vostredict Seigneur et mon nepveu, dont Dieux ait l'ame, et duquel vous avois (*sic*) rescript et mandé que Dieux sçavoit par qui il estoit mort; il le scet bien, ce veux-je approuver. Il est commun que l'avez detenu en vos prison; il est certain que vinstes devers luy, en un chastel, où il estoit venant d'Yrlande; où fustes devers luy, decepvant sa personne; soubz ombre de le saluer, decevant ses nobles; soubz tiltre de bienfaict, decevant son peuple; leur promettant franchises; avuglant son clergie, soubz raisons obscures; prenant ses serviteurs, les destruisant à mort et comme un tirant; ayant tousjours le cours de sadicte personne entre vos mains ou de vos gens. Où est sa vie? où est son corps? ne le scet Dieux? ne le congnoist le monde? Certes si faict, car vous avez la charge. S'il est en vie, que ne le delivrez; et s'il est mort, que s'ait (*sic*) esté par vous. A ce que vous dictes que vous ne pensez que j'exceptasse (pour lors que je feis l'alliance avecques vous) vostredict Seigneur, le Roy Richard mon nepveu, et ma tres honorée dame et niepce, Madame la Roine d'Angleterre, et que vous ne sçavez si ozes je les excepte en general: Où sont les alliez de mon tres redouté Seigneur, Monseigneur le Roy de France, qui n'y soient exceptez; lesquelz sont de son lignage, qui n'y soient comprins, ne ses subgiez, ne ses amis? Comment cuidiez-vous, par vostre escripture aveugler le monde, en me pensant donner charge; et par vous, tout faulx, vostre malice nous cuide-il diviser mon tres cher et tres ame oncle, le duc de Bourgongne et moy, par deça, par vos escriptz? Souffise-vous, en vostre contrée, l'avoir divisée; car par deça, l'aide de Dieu devant, jà n'y avendrez [amendrez?] de la merveille que vous poves avoir, se dictes vous de mes escriptz que vous ay faitz enchargeant vostre honneur.'

The two MSS. which he quotes would have informed him differently.[1] Nor should he have given such an erroneous account of MS. 7532, which is simply a copy of Creton's history, part in metre and part in prose.

It would appear natural that Isabel should wish to be assured of the real state of Richard's mental disease, before she consented to seal her union; and I am inclined to refer Creton's visit to Scotland to the years 1405 or 1406. If Creton found Richard in the state of hopeless imbecility in which there is good evidence he was, it would then suit the purpose of the Duke of Orleans to proclaim Henry as his murderer; and we have good authority that Creton was the author of the story of the assassination of Richard by Sir Piers Exton, which may be fairly designated a fabrication. His letter to the Duke of Burgundy, and the proclamation of the French government in 1406, may be considered as issued for political purposes; and in the latter the charge of putting Richard to death is neutralised by the words 'ut aiunt.' The death of Philip Duke of Burgundy, in the beginning of the year 1404, had left his brother of Orleans the uncontrolled ruler of France for a time; and, Isabel once married, the court of France would not be likely to change their language respecting Henry. Indeed Louis died shortly afterwards.

Sir James Mackintosh's objection noticed.

But it is time to notice Sir James Mackintosh's objection of the total absence of minute and circumstantial statement of the manner of escape, and the place of residence, and of all other smaller facts, of which there could not fail to be some remaining intimation, if the person were the true Richard.[2] In

[1] See the quotation from that MS. at p. 106; and Creton's letter, Archæol. xxviii.

[2] Hist. of England, Appendix to vol. i.

addition to the testimony of Winton, and Bower, and of Hector Boece, who relates that Richard escaped to Scotland, where he lived a religious life, and was buried at Stirling (xx. 430), we have the decided testimony of 'Ane tractat of a part of y^e^ Yngliss Cronikle,' printed from Asloan's MS. at the Auchinleck press, under the superintendence of the late Sir Alexander Boswell. After noticing that Richard had destroyed some Scottish monasteries, it is added, 'That this King Richert murdret mony of his lords in Yngland, and was exild in to Scotland, ye quilk deit a beggar and out of his mynd, and was erdit i ye Blak Frers of Striviling.' (Sign. B iiij.) Could it have been Thomas Ward, asks Mr. Amyot, who thus continued his imposture after his object had been completely frustrated?[1]

Testimony of Asloan's MS.

A search that was made in the course of the past year at the Chapter-House has brought to light a number of important documents, which supply in a considerable degree the hiatus mentioned by Sir James. They consist of inquisitions and documents taken upon oath, a list of which is given in Appendix A. The affidavits No. 12 and No. 15 deserve particular attention, confirming as they do in a distinct manner the account given by Winton of the escape of Richard from Pontefract castle by the assistance of a yeoman of Sir Robert Waterton, and of Sir John King, (a priest of Sir Henry Percy,)—of his travelling to Northumberland, and thence to an 'Ile in the sea,'—and of the ordinance made by the council of Scotland that Lord Montgomery should be his keeper. Repeated testimony is also borne to the attempt of Isabel to land in England in company with the Duke of Orleans, to her being forced back by stress of weather, and to the capture of the Earl of Huntingdon at the deponent's

Documents discovered at the Chapter-House.

[1] Archæologia, xx.

house in Essex; which fact is confirmed by this chronicle, and, incidentally, by Caxton. A formidable conspiracy had been detected at Bentley, Colne, Colchester, St. Osyth, and elsewhere, to detect and punish which a numerous board of Inquisitors was appointed. In addition to this direct evidence, the reader is requested to remark that Serle's testimony that he had seen Richard was confirmed by Balshalf;[1]—that the confession extorted from Serle in the prospect of death, if not altogether a forgery, (and it is not mentioned by Otterbourne,) can have but little weight; — that no charges for mourning are found in the Wardrobe accounts;—that Lord Henry Percy, neither in May 1401, nor in July 1403, spoke of Richard as deceased;[2]— that the accounts of the English chroniclers respecting Richard's death were most contradictory;—that they were influenced either by the fear or the favour of the ruling dynasty;—that Henry Prince of Wales petitioned, in the 7th and 8th Hen. IV. against the Lollards and those who preached that Richard was alive,[3]— and that the reports that Richard was alive abounded through the greater part of his reign,[4] for the propagation of which many persons suffered death.

Other corroborative proofs.

[1] Fœdera, viii. 262.

[2] Proceedings of Council, i. 151. 208.

[3] Rot. Parl. iii. 583.

[4] See Otterbourne. On the 27th of June 1402, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid to divers of the King's messengers sent to each county in England with the King's commissions, directed to certain persons for due punishment to be inflicted on those who publicly proclaimed and affirmed that Richard the late King was still living. Pell Issue Rolls.

These reports, according to Otterbourne (p. 209), were rife even in the household of Henry. In the third of Henry's reign a proclamation was made 'De arrestando omnes personas in com' Cumbr' et Westm' qui divulgarint Ricardum secundum vivum esse in Scocia.' 'De arrestando quam plur' alias personas pro consimil.' 'De proclamando per totum regnum contra murmuraciones populi.' (Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. IV. p. 2. a tergo.) The other instances are too numerous to be particularized; the reader is referred to Rymer's Fœdera, to Otterbourne, to Walsingham anno 1407, and espe-

In the pardon of Merks, the deposed Bishop of Carlisle, it was charged against him that he, with Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Benet Shelley, and others, had confederated with the King of France to proclaim Richard as the true King of England.[1] If this charge were true, it is not conceivable that the parties should have so committed themselves had not Richard been really alive.

Christine de Pisa ignorant of Richard's death.

Christine de Pisa may be adduced as a witness on this side of the question. Some time after her son's return to France, and consequently after the death of the Earl of Salisbury in January 1400, apparently about the end of the year, she writes as follows, in perfect ignorance of Richard's death, of which it is incredible that she should not have known, had it happened.

'On racomptoit de luy sans faille
En fait d'armes et de bataille :
Non obstant, puis plus d'un an vé (*vrai*)
Luy ait fortune moult grevé ;
Si que je croy, sans mesprison,
L'ont mesmes les siens en prison
Tenu, mais la cause n'en scay.'[2]

Richard's death not referred to in the Calais proclamation.

In the MS. Collection of Brienne, vol. xxxiv. p. 251, is preserved a proclamation by Thomas Swynford, captain of Calais, and others, in which they maintain the acknowledged right of states to depose a prince for mal-governance, but no notice is taken of Richard's death. It is dated 24 Sept. 1404:

cially to Appendices A. and C. In the latter it will be seen that Sir H. Percy caused it to be proclaimed twice throughout the county of Chester that Richard was alive, and might be seen by those who would repair to him. In the former, that many persons of distinction were implicated; amongst others the Countess of Oxford (grand-daughter of Edward III.), and the Abbots of St. John's, Colchester, of St. Osyth, and of Byleigh.

[1] 'Et inter cætera quod ipsi confederati fuerunt cum Rege Francie inimico Regis ac quod ipsi proclamaverunt quod universi reputarent Ricardum Regem ut Regem verum.' Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 20.

[2] M. Paulin Paris. Les MSS. François, v. 139.

'Que tous les Princes Chrestiens scavoient les fautes du Roy Richard contre l'honneur de la royauté, ayant permis et assigné duel entre le Roy qui estoit lors Duc de Hereford et le Duc de Norfolk, disent les Roys et les Papes peuvent estre deposé en quelque cas, et peuvent resigner.'

Edmund Mortemer.

The situation in which the friends of the rightful heir of the crown found themselves, accounts for the ambiguous language of their proclamations. Whilst Richard was alive, young Edmund Mortemer could have no claim to the throne, except Richard had voluntarily resigned, which is more than doubtful;[1] on the other hand, they never acknowledged Richard's death, and made repeated attempts to dethrone Henry. In a letter to his tenants, Edmund Mortemer, sen., thus expresses himself in December 1402, 'Very dear and well beloved, I greet you much, and make known to you that Oweyn Glyndor has raised a quarrel, of which the object is, if King Richard be alive, to restore him to his crown; and, if not, that my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said crown, shall be King of England,' &c.[2]

Henry V.

Before Henry V. embarked for his second expedition to the continent, he wrote the annexed letter,[3] apparently to his council. Can any unprejudiced mind believe that 'the mammet' who gave the

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[1] See page 202.

[2] Cott. MS. Cleop. F. iii. fol. 122 b.

[3] Letter of Henry V., about the end of the year 1417, to his Privy Council (as it is supposed). Cotton. MS. Vesp. F. iii. fol. 5.

'Furthermore, I would that ye commune with my brother, with the Chancellor, with my cousin of Northumberland, and my cousin of Westmoreland; and that ye set a good ordinance for my North Marches, and specially for the Duke of Orleans and for all the remnant of my prisoners in France, and also for the King of Scotland. For as I am secretly informed by a man of right notable estate in this land, that there hath been a man of the Duke of

Lion of Agincourt such uneasiness all his reign, was any other than Richard, whose impotency he affects to deride; or that, had the party been indeed a puppet, Henry would not have peremptorily demanded that such a disturber of the nation's peace should be delivered up to him?

Pardon of Sir Ralph Grey by Henry VI.

I will only observe on this part of the subject that Henry VI. excused part of the sentence of Sir Ralph Grey on account of the loyalty of his grandfather Sir Thomas Grey 'to the King's most noble predecessor,' in whose cause he was beheaded with the Earl of Cambridge at Southampton;[1] which is a plain proof that that upright sovereign acknowledged the justice of his cause, and, by consequence, his belief in Richard's existence at that time.

Henry's solemn declaration of his innocence.

It is therefore hoped that credence may be given to Henry's solemn declaration that he was innocent of the murder of his predecessor. 'En l'honneur de Dieu, en l'honneur de notre Dame et de Monsieur St. George, vous mentés faussement et mauvaisement,' said he to the Duke of Orleans, 'quand vous dites que nous n'avons pas pitié de notre Roi-lige et souverain seigneur.'

A short summary of the discordant statements of the different chroniclers, on the manner of Richard's death, will close the subject.

Orleans in Scotland, and accorded with the Duke of Albany that this next summer he shall bring the mammet of Scotland to stir what he may; and also that there should be found ways to the having away specially of the Duke of Orleans, and also of the King, as well as of the remnant of my said prisoners, that God do defend! (which God forbid!) Wherefore I will that the Duke of Orleans be kept still within the castle of Pomfret, without going to Robertis Place, or to any other disport; for it is better he lack his disport than we be deceived.'

[1] Chronicles of the White Rose, p. lxxxix.

Froisarts's confession.

Froissart, although he states 'La cause comment ce fut ne par quelle incidence point Je ne scavoie au iour que Je escripsay cronicques,'[1] adds, that Henry would never consent to put Richard to death, though he was often urged to do so. Lydgate simply refers to the fact of Richard's death. See Appendix G.

Lydgate.

Chroniclers who have followed our author.

Creton, the Monk of St. Denys, the authors of the 'Grans Croniques de France,' and Jean de Waurin have adopted the version of the text in full; and their views are evidently participated by Juvenal des Ursins, Pierre Salmon,[2] and Eustace Deschamps.[3] They have been followed by Fabyan, Hall (who speaks with much doubt), Trussell, and Hayward; none of whom, however, can be called authorities.

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[1] Illuminated MS. British Museum.

[2] Pierre Salmon, ex-secretary of Charles VI., in writing to that King in the year 1409, says: 'Vous savez que le Roi Richard d'Angleterre, que Dieu absoille, a-il esté entre ses gens et de ses gens privé et debouté de la couronne de son royaume, et est mort honteusement.' MS. 5070, Fonds de la Vallière, Bibl. du Roi, which for beauty of illustration is unrivalled.

[3] *Ballade de Eustace Deschamps, dit Morel, de la mort du Roy Richart Dangleterre.*

MS. 7219, Bibl. du Roi, fo. $\frac{xx}{xvi}$ iiij. (324).

Las qui ains vit si fausses traisons
Parens peuples qui furent ses feaulx
Par toy Henry de Lencastre faulx homs
Faictes en lui cont' les droiz royaulx
Prandre et occir par traiteurs consaulx
De mageste blecee et ce retraire
Toy et les tiens fait au monde desplaire
Tant que tint Roy Crestien Saarasin
Pour le bon Roy vous seront a du faire
Qui faussement a este mis a fin.

Angleterre sur toutes nastions
Es au jour dui haie pour tes maulx
Et cilz cuitant a fait doccisions
Des innocens pour regn' cõme faulx
Vous avez fait en la loy deux deffaulx

Mezeray, Lilius Baleus,[1] Gaguin, Vignier, Bouchet, and d'Argentré, simply state that Richard was stifled or strangled by order of Henry.

Authorities for Richard's death from grief, &c.;

The authorities for Richard's death from grief or voluntary abstinence, are Walsingham, Otterbourne, the Monk of Evesham, the author of the MSS. Reg. 13. c. 1, and Sloane 1776,[2] the author of the Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle, Gower,[3] and MS. 10212[3] Bibl. du Roi.

Nulz ne pourroit voz gñz pechiez retraire
Perseverans devez crier et braire
Destruis serez vo prophete Merlin
Bodes concluez pour vo mort et haire
Qui faussement a este mis a fin.

LENVOY.*

Plourez Anglois les tribulacions
Qui vous viennent et voz destructions
Pour voz pechiez dit vos regnes je fui
Franc estoc par les Bretons
Pour Roy Richart dictes destruiz serons
Qui faussement a este mis a fin.

[1] Lilius Baleus, or John of Basle, was an Englishman by birth, a native of Essex or Suffolk. He published a descriptive catalogue of Early British Authors. Basle, 1567.

[2] This author fairly confesses his ignorance of the manner of Richard's death, although he states the current rumour. See Appendix F, page 296.

[3] As a pendant to 'Deschamps,' I annex an English ballad:

'Upon the deathe of King Richard John Gower doth write as followeth.'

(Summarie of Englishe Chronicles, by J[ohn] S[tow], 1567. 18mo.)

Vox clamantis.

O myrrour for the world mete,
Which shouldest in gold be bette,
By which all wise men, by forsight,
Theyr prudent wittes may whette.
Lo, God doth hate suche rulers as
Here viciously do lyve,

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* 'L'envoy' was a dedication to the personage, or the subject personified.

From starvation by his keepers.

For his death from starvation by his keepers, Hardyng, Fortescue, Petrus de Ickham, the Godstow Chronicle, Polydore Vergil, Stowe, the Kirkstall Chronicle, (Cotton. MS. Dom. A. 12)[1] and the first manifesto of the Percys.[2] Holinshed instances all the three modes, but says the latter was most generally believed.

The state of England at the close of the fourteenth century.

A few observations on the state of England in the nineteenth of Richard II., when this chronicle commences, will conclude these prefatory remarks.

The idea of a connexion with Isabel, the eldest daughter of Charles VI., appears to have originated with Richard. His mind had evidently been long bent upon peace with France. With the chivalric spirit of the Plantagenets, he had, whilst yet young, challenged Charles to decide the question of right by single combat.[3] Thrice, at the least, during his reign had he proposed peace to his Parliament or Great Council, and thrice was the proposition unfavourably received.[4] The Parliament told him at

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And none ought rule, that by theyr life
Doo yll example gyve.
As this King Richard witnesseth wel
His end this playne doeth showe,
For God allotted him such ende,
And sent hym so great woo,
As such a lyfe deservde, as by
The chronicles thou mayst knowe.

[1] 'Ricardus Angliæ quondam Rex translatus est de Turri Londini usque ad castrum de Ponfrett ubi donec ante mortem pane et aquâ, ut dicebatur, sustentatus, tandem fame necatus est, secundum communem famam, et sepultus apud Langlay.'

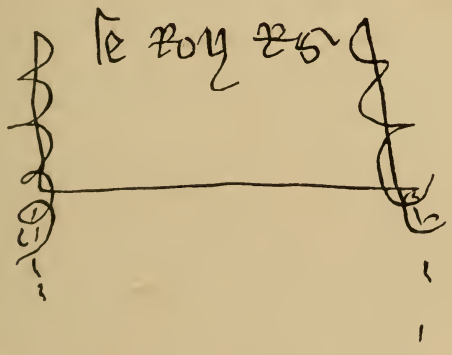
[2] All the regular clergy, with the exception perhaps of one class, favoured Henry, and were particularly cautious how they spoke of Richard's death. There is scarcely a chronicler who does not qualify his account by 'ut fertur,' 'ut dicitur,' or 'secundum communem famam.'

[3] Sir R. Cotton. Posthuma.

[4] 7 Ric. II. Rot. Parl. iii. 170. (The same proposition had been made at the previous session of this year, but no reply is recorded.) Rot. Claus. 9 Ric. II.; and Rot. Parl. iii. 315, 17 Ric. II.

last, that, though an honourable peace would be the greatest comfort they could have, the dangers each way were so considerable, they dared not decide; and concluded by hoping that the King would not engage to do homage for Calais or the conquered country. Whether or not Richard had the wisdom to perceive that a continued war had eventually placed his grandfather at the mercy of the Commons, he certainly persevered in his project in opposition to the wishes of the nation. He wrote a letter to Charles, requesting a safe-conduct for his ambassadors the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of St. David's, the Earls of Rutland and Nottingham, the Lord Beaumont, and Sir William le Scrop, with their esquires and servants. To this letter, dated from 'nostre manoir de Langley le darrein jour de Septembre,' which is preserved in the Archives at Paris,[1] Richard's sign manual is affixed, and it is remarkable as being the earliest instance of the

Letter of King Richard to Charles VI.



[1] Archives du Royaume, J. 644, art. 35[5]. A similar signature, with the exception of the flourish, was once preserved in the Cotton. MS. Vespasian, F. iii. fo. 3; it has been abstracted; happily, however, not before it had been copied by Dawson

substitution of the initials for the cross by any British monarch.[1]

The court of France, weakened by contending factions, and suffering from the loss of many of their bravest knights in the expedition against the Turks, sought repose, and the Chancellor, Arnaud de Corbie, warmly approved the proposed marriage as a means of cementing the union of the two countries, and of neutralizing the well-known opposition of the Duke of Gloucester; and he did so notwithstanding Isabel's hand had been already pledged to the son of the Duke of Brittany by the treaty of Tours. In order the better to succeed, the Chancellor sent over to England Robert the Hermit, to whom the Duke of Lancaster had taken a fancy, and whom Richard had a great desire to see. He gave him letters of credence,[2] and the Hermit set out with a modest retinue of seven followers. King Richard gave him a warm welcome, and took pleasure in hearing him recount all he had seen among the Turks and Saracens, and in Syria, —a subject of curiosity with all knights.

Robert the Hermit sent to England:

visits the Duke of Gloucester.

He then went to visit the Duke of Gloucester, whom he found cool at the mention of peace; and who remarked, that the matter concerned the King, but was no concern of his.

At length, being pressed by the Hermit, the Duke replied: 'Robert, although you may be listened to and believed by the King, and the lords of both nations, and although you may have great influence in their councils, peace is such an important matter that it requires a greater man than you to meddle

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Turner, Esq. The signature to Richard's Will in the Chapter House is 'le roy' only; but the characters perfectly correspond with the woodcut.

[1] "Le Roy Richard Second," Rot. Parl. III. 215.

[2] The letter from Charles VI. to Richard, requesting him to believe all that the Hermit should tell him, is still preserved at Paris. Archives du Royaume, J. 644. art. 35.

with it. I tell you so here, as I have told you elsewhere. I am not set against peace, but I do not desire it at the expense of the honour of England. My father, and my brother the Prince of Wales, had formerly agreed to make peace with King John. The French have traitorously broken and violated that peace, which they had sworn to maintain. They have taken and seized the lands and lordships which they had yielded by treaties to the late King my father. They have not even paid the ransom of their King. These are the things which I call to mind, Robert, and they harrow up my soul when they occur to me. Many others are astonished that our lord the King should be so childish, so weak, so forgetful of past events, and so little attentive to the present, as to ally himself with our enemies, and thus to despoil the kingdom of England.' Although the Hermit spent two days with the Duke, who he allows treated him well, he could not prevail upon him to alter his opinion.[1]

King Richard signs preliminaries of marriage with Isabel;

Richard, however, persevered in his intention. His proposals of marriage were dated from Chilterne Langley, Dec. 1395. The preliminaries of marriage were signed 12th March 1396;[2] and Isabel was delivered to him by her father at Lelighen the following October, when a treaty of peace for twenty-eight years was agreed upon. At this interview

[1] De Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, Paris, 1824, ii. 245. He follows Monstrelet.

[2] Histoire Générale de la Maison de France. In order to raise the dowry for Isabel, Charles published the following ordinance :

'Un aide en forme de taille qui sera levée sur toute sorte de personne, même sur les officiers du Roy; et nul n'en sera exempt, si ce ne sont les nobles, extraits de noble lignée, qui ne feront point le commerce, qui n'auront pris des fermes, et qui porteront les armes. Les gens d'Eglise, les beneficières, et les pauvres seront aussi exempts de cette taille.' Ordonnances des Rois de France, viii. Mar. 28, 1395.

Charles requested his new son-in-law to restore to the Duke of Brittany, who was present, the county of Richmond and the city of Brest, which in that moment of festivity he very readily promised to do.

restores Brest, &c. to the Duke of Brittany.

Richard had granted, in Dec. 1377, the lands, honour, and lordship of the county of Richmond to John of Montfort, Duke of Brittany, and to Joan his wife, for their lives. The Duchess was daughter of the Earl of Kent, and sister to Richard by his mother. The Duke's first wife was Mary, daughter of Edward III. Upon the Duke of Brittany joining cause with the King of France,[1] Richard gave the county of Richmond to his own Queen, Anne (20 Dec. 1385); and the Parliament, in the 14th of Richard, declared the Duke to have forfeited the same on account of his adherence to the adversary of France.[2] After the death of Anne, Richard gave the county of Richmond to the Duke's sister, Jane of Brittany, who had married Raoul Basset, an English knight.[3] Although promised at Lelighen, the county was not restored to the Duke of Brittany until 23rd April 1398.[4]

The restoration of Brest was the principal condition of the truce of twenty-eight years agreed upon between Charles and Richard, and was obtained by

[1] The agreement between Charles the Fifth of France and the Duke of Brittany, on the 10th of April 1380, is contained in MS. 8326 Regius, Bibl. du Roi, fo. 1. The faithless Duke was taken prisoner and brought to England. The Lord de Coucy was bound in 10,000 francs of gold for his ransom, and the Constable de Clisson and others in 120,000 golden francs. (Lobineau, ii. 685.)

[2] Lobineau, Hist. de Brétagne, ii. 592 and 632.

[3] Morice, Hist. de Bretagne, i. 426.

[4] Fœdera. Notwithstanding Henry's obligations to the Duke of Brittany, he seized the lordship of Richmond on his accession; and, in spite of repeated applications from the ambassadors of the Duke's son and successor, he bestowed it on Ralph Earl of Westmoreland. (Otterbourne, and Proceedings of Privy Council.)

the Duke of Burgundy, who, as the Monk of Saint Denys remarks, outwitted the ministers of Richard.[1]

The Duke of Gloucester's dissatisfaction.

The Duke of Gloucester is described as being naturally of a warm disposition. Once he drew his sword in Richard's presence, declaring, with an oath, that he would murder the first man who should venture to accuse his brother, John of Gaunt, of treason. With a knowledge of these events, and with the feelings just described, he assisted at the feast given by Richard in Westminster Hall, with which the chronicle opens.[2]

Charles VI, was he cognisant of Henry's usurpation?

One fact is too remarkable to be omitted, viz. that Charles VI. sent a letter to Henry, whom he styles 'Duke of Lancaster, cousin,' dated 'Pavia, le darrein jour de Mai 1399,' requesting him to send back Isabel and her jewels 'franche et desliee de tous liens et empeschemens de mariage.'[3] He must have been, therefore, not only cognisant of Henry's projected

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[1] Chronicles, B. xvii. c. 20.

[2] I have inserted such variations only of the different MSS. as appeared to affect the sense of the history, or to present some peculiar expression or idiom. The later MSS. abound with clerical errors, and to have given them would only have tended to confuse the reader. Mr. Webb has given, in the twentieth volume of the Archæologia, such full notices of the 'dramatis personæ' that I have not attempted to go over the same ground, nor to give any other notice than what appeared necessary to make the subject intelligible to the general reader; indeed, my residence on the Continent whilst these sheets were going through the press has precluded me from more than a partial access to our English chroniclers. If I have ventured to follow in the track of that learned gentleman, it has only been from the belief that I have been working in a newly discovered mine, and with a perfect consciousness that I have done so 'haud passibus æquis.' I have considered it was incumbent upon me to endeavour to retain the quaint style of the chronicle, and to render the narrative into English as closely as the genius of the language would admit, although I fear the reader may have to complain of numerous repetitions, and of 'mazy words which lead to nothing.' The offensive oaths and addresses to the Deity have been unwillingly retained; but to omit them in an historical tract, would be to give an untrue picture of the morals of the age.

[3] MS. de Brienne, tom. xxxvi.

usurpation, but a party to it. The fact, however, is so astounding, that it suggests a question whether there be not an error in the date of the letter.

I cannot close these prefatory remarks without expressing my sense of obligation to M. Pottier, of the Public Library, Rouen, M. Paulin Paris, and M. Aimé Champollion, of the Royal Library, Paris, and to Thomas D. Hardy, Esq., of the Record Office, Tower, for their assistance in the direction of my researches; to Rev. John Webb, Rev. Dr. Rock, and Dawson Turner, Esq., for their kind attention to my communications; and to the reader of Messrs. Bentley and Co., for many valuable suggestions as these sheets were passing through the press.

Cowley Grove, Uxbridge,
Nov. 1846.

Notice of the Manuscripts on the Betrayal and Death of Richard the Second, King of England.

I. MS. of the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, marked 'No. 904, Fonds St. Victor,' formerly No. 1188, the text of which is followed in this volume. For its description see Preface, p. xxiii. MS. St. Victor.

II. MS. of the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, No. 10212 [3], Regius, and 5541 Codex Colbert, designated in this work as 'MS. Lebaud,' from the following inscription at the end of the volume: 'Je Jehan Lebaud liceñ en loix Conseillr̃ du Ry nr̃e ꝺ ay donne et donne cest liure a mon Seigneur de Tranihel Chancellier de France Tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mitz ou moys de Juillet lan mil quatre cens quarãte et neuf.' The writing of the dedication is of a different hand from that of the MS., and the ink is much paler. This MS. is contained in a small quarto, ten inches by eight, with the royal cypher (C) crossed, surmounted with a crown, on the back of the volume. The MS. commences thus:— MS. Lebaud.

'Memoire du temps que Richart de Bordeaux regna, et de la merueilleuse fortune que depuis lui aduint, come vous orrez en listoire cy apres declairee. Le dit Roy Richart estoit filz auisne de Edouart Prince de Guelles qui moult ot de renom en son viuant puis trespassa Le dit Prince deuant la mort son pere le bon Roy Edouart qui Roy et Seigñr estoit Dangleterre et de toute Ymbernie Et quant le Roy vit que mort estoit le Prince son filz et que le dit Richart deuoit estre son ĥitier de la couronne Dangleterre si lui souuint cõment le Prince son filz Edward the Black Prince.

MS. Lebaud. lui fist doulcement requeste ou lit de la mort⸗ en disant Mon t̃s ch̃r Seign̄r ⁊ pere Je voy b̃n que je suis a la fin de mes jours⸗ pour ce vous prie je t̃s ch̃rement quil vous plaise ordonner en vr̃e viuant que apres vr̃e deces soit couronne Richart mon filz Roy Dangleterre⸗ et le Roy lui octroya Si voult faire ⁊ ordonner deuant sa baronnie ⁊ son conseil que apres sa mort le dit Richart feust coronne sās cont̃dit Roy Dangleterre⸗ Celle ordonnance le Roy fist pour ce que le Roy Richart estoit jeune enfant Et Jehan Duc de Lencastre le Duc de Clerance le Duc Dyorc et le Duc de Glocestre qui estoient filz du Roy Edouart promisserent a leur pere q̃ aide et confort vouloient faire au dit Roy Richart tout leur viuant⸗ et le tenir Roy et Seign̄r Dangleterre quant temps ꝑoit⸗[1] Ceste chose promidrent les iiij ducs a leur pere⸗ et aussi fist toute la baronnie. Et apres celle ordonnance fc̃e trespassa le bon Roy Edouart lan mil ccc lxxvj⸗ et tantost apres fut couronne le dit Richard de Bordeaux Roy et Seign̄r Danglet̃re par le consentem̄t de tous les seign̄rs du pays ⁊ du peuple Et fut le Roy Richart jure par xij barons cōme est la coustume du pais que le Roy Richart deuoit estre ligement droit Roy ⁊ .Seign̄r Dangleterre. Et ainsi fu couronne le Roy Richart Dangleterre Et tint le royaume en bonne prosperite lespace de xxvj ans et puis fut degrade de la couronne⸗ et mis en prison fermee⸗ en son viuant fut couronne le Duc Henry de Lancastre Roy Dangleterre par le consentement de pluseurs barons ⁊ du peuple de Londres⸗ ainsi que vo⁹ orrez cy apres

Edward III. appoints Richard of Bordeaux his heir.

All the barons swear allegiance to him.

[1] Edward III. created his grandson 'Richard of Bordeaux,' Earl of Chester, and Prince of Wales. He caused him to be brought before Parliament, to be acknowledged the heir-apparent of the realm. All the peers swore allegiance to him. (Rot. Parl. ii. 330.) Edward's last public act was to bestow the order of the Garter upon Richard.

Cest assauoir q̃ pluseurs discencõns meurent entre le Roy Richart ꝛ les seigñs Dangleꝛre qui en pou de temps prindrent conꝑ leur Roy grant haine pour ꝯtains achoisons lesquelles leur furent donnees a entendre, lesquelles de legier ilz creurent premierement auant celle haine encõmencee. MS. Leb d.

'Le Roy Richart rendy,' &c.

In the course of this narrative is inserted an abridgement of Creton's metrical account of Richard's journey to Ireland (see pp. 27 to 33 of this work).

The history is followed by a remark, that it was the opinion of the English that Richard died of voluntary abstinence (see p. 104); also by an account of the return of Queen Isabel to France (see p. 105); of the manner in which the Duchess of Brittany was received in England as Queen; by Henry's letter to Louis Duke of Orleans, dated from the Tower of London, 5th Dec. 1402, (in reply to his letter of challenge,) and by Louis' second letter, dated 26th March 1402 (1403 new style). These letters are given by Monstrelet. Then follows an account of certain feats of arms, which seven knights and esquires of the Duke of Orleans performed at Bordeaux against seven knights and esquires of the Earl of Rutland,[1] when 'les Anglois furent desconfiz,' dated 26th March 1402. The MS. ends with a curious account of the 'Invasion Temirley' (Tamerlane or Timour, Emperor of the Tartars). None of the transactions are of later date than 1403; and it will be remarked, that Henry's second letter is not given. In point of antiquity and value this MS. stands next to that of the text, but it is slightly condensed throughout, and hastily written; and who-

[1] The Earl of Rutland was appointed Governor of Guienne 28th August, 2 Hen. IV. (Dugdale, Baronage.)

ever will take the trouble to compare its variations with the text of this work, must acknowledge its inferiority, and that it is of later date.

MS. of Jehan le Beau or le Bel.

III. MS. Le Beau, No. 9745 [3] Regius, and 1051 Codex Colbert, Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, purports to be written by Jehan le Beau, le Bel, or le Biaux, Chanoine de St. Lambert en Liège. No date is affixed to the copy, but the style proves it to be one of the earliest MSS., and it is in a strong Picardian dialect. The author has taken great liberties with the text, has considerably condensed the narrative in some places, and added reflections of his own in others, and has made considerable errors in his attempted corrections of the proper names. This MS. has been published by the late M. Buchon, in a second Appendix to his edition of Froissart, in his Collection of the Chronicles of France. It wants the chapters containing the account of Richard's journey to Ireland, and of his capture by Northumberland. Although I made repeated visits to the Royal Library at Paris, extending over a twelvemonth, I never could obtain a sight of this MS. For some remarks concerning the author, see the Preface, p. xxviii.

MS. of George Chastelain. (MS. O.)

IV. MS. O is preserved in the Public Library of Rouen, and is marked 'O $\frac{33}{13}$ de Belles Lettres.' It is a small quarto, from the pen of Sir George Chastelain, 'Historiographe' to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Knight and Herald of the order of the Golden Fleece. From an inscription on the first leaf, it appears to have been given to the Capucins of Mortagne in 1675, by 'Mad[lle] de la Barre seur de feu Mons[r] Aboz.' [1] At the end of the volume the

[1] Is it not probable that Mademoiselle de la Barre was a descendant of Mary de Coucy, widow of Robert de Barr, and daughter of Enguerrand Lord de Coucy and Isabella daughter of

two original fly-leaves are preserved, on one of which is written, in a bold hand of the latter part of the fourteenth century, 'Partie des faiz George de Chastelain de la Maison de Mons^r de Bourgogne;' and on the other is written, in beautiful German Gothic: MS. of George Chastelain. (MS. O.)

'Encliti ac excelsi principis domini
Domini Burgondie Ducis Georgii
Castellain oratoris eximii nonnulla
In hoc inferuntur acta volumine.'

Notwithstanding the great difference of the handwriting in several parts of the MS., which is sometimes very carefully executed, and sometimes degenerates into a complete scrawl, the whole volume, including the inscription, can be evidently traced to the same hand. The first letter in the inscription, and the first line of the history, are alike *chef-d'œuvres* of caligraphy, after the style of the German Gothic. The volume contains also the following works, which are incontestably by Chastelain:

Two allegorical poems, contained in 103 folios, one of which is addressed to the Duke of Burgundy;

Les Douze Dames de Rhétorique;

Correspondence of Chastelain with Jean Robertot, (Secretary to the Duke of Bourbon);

And, an Imitation of the 'Temple' of Boccaccio, or, a Chronicle of the Marvellous Events which had happened in his times.[1] Chastelain composed this last work to console in her misfortune Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI., who found refuge with

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Edward III? She was governess to Queen Isabel, and would be naturally interested in Richard's history. See p. 165.

[1] The following is the title of this work:—'C'est cy le temple de Boccace mīroēz pour tous grās de la terre auquel la Roigne Dangleterre cest venu plaindre a triste face.' M. Buchon has published a full notice of the life and writings of Chastelain in his Collection of the Chronicles of France.

her son the Prince Edward at the court of the Duke of Burgundy. The MS. consists of forty-four closely written folios, but the additional paragraphs are wanting. It is followed by a chronicle of English affairs on the Continent, of thirty-four folios, commencing in the year 1414, and terminating in the year 1420. The MS. abounds with contractions.

MS. Y. Rouen.

V. MS. Y is also preserved in the Public Library of Rouen, and is marked 'Y $\frac{15}{13}$ des MSS. relatifs à la Normandie.' It is derived from the same source as MS. O, and bears the same inscription on the first leaf. The MS. is contained in a quarto volume, of remarkably thick paper, and occupies eighty folios; the writing of the whole volume is of the old bastard Gothic character, and is in a clear and bold hand. The dialect is that of Picardy, and the proper names are occasionally more correctly given than in most other MSS; the writer had evidently some acquaintance with English affairs. The additional paragraphs are wanting.

In addition to the history of Richard, the volume contains 'Des Enseignemens d'un Pere à son Fils,' and 'Les Quinze Joies de Mariage.' The last is a satirical work of considerable interest, which has been published by Techener of Paris. At the end of the volume, after an enigmatical verse relative to the author of the 'Quinze Joies de Mariage,' is the following inscription, which gives the exact date of the copy:

'Anno Domini mille^mo cccc^mo lxiiij° (1464) in mense Novembris fuit exactus p'ns liber, etc.'

The copyist has added at the end of the history:

'Scribere qui nescit nullū putat esse laborem.'

Brussels MSS.

VI. MS. No. 12193 of the Library of the Dukes

of Burgundy at Brussels, entitled 'C'est la Maniere de la Mort du Roy Richard Dangleterre et de sa Destruction.'

The writing of this MS. is referred to the first third part of the fifteenth century. It is in folio, but wants the additional paragraphs.

VII. MS. No. 10438, also of the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy, is a MS. of forty pages, of the writing of the middle of the fifteenth century, and, like the preceding, wants the additional paragraphs. It is wrongly described in the printed catalogue of the library as a MS. of the surrender of Brest. Its title is as follows: 'C'est la maniere de la Mort du Roy Richart Dengleterre et de la destruction comme il sensuit.'

VIII. No. 635, Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. This MS. is described by Mr. Webb as an octavo, bearing the royal crown and cypher (C). It is not known by this number at the Royal Library, and the Editor suspects it is No. 635 of some private collection (Fond); but as there are fifty-five such collections at the Royal Library, and no catalogue has as yet been published, the search for it appears hopeless. It appears to have been an early MS.; but it consisted of only thirty-eight folios, and could scarcely have contained the additional paragraphs. MS. 635, Bibl. du Roy.

IX. MS. No. 10212 [3b] Regius, and Codex Colbert 1961, Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris. A MS. about twelve inches by eight, on thick paper, bound in red calf, with the royal crown and cypher (L). It is contained in seventy-one folios, and possesses the additional paragraphs. The writing is of the latter part of the fifteenth century. This is evi- MS. 1961 Colbert, Bibl du Roi.

dently a later copy than any of the preceding, and is much more condensed. The copyist, puzzled by the English proper names, has frequently omitted them altogether. It has a coarse illumination, representing Sir Piers Exton stabbing Richard in the back as he is seated at table. The murderer is accompanied by two other men, in armour; and the esquire trenchant stands by with uplifted hands.

MS. 10506, Bibl. du Roi.

X. No. 10506 Regius, Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, is a small octavo on paper, with the royal crown and cypher (L). It wants the additional paragraphs, and is a copy of the end of the fifteenth century.

MS. 413, Bibl. du Roi.

XI. No. 413, Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, is described by Mr. Webb as a large folio, belonging formerly to the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy, and agreeing with MS. 10506. It is not now known at the Royal Library of Paris.—*Query.* Is this identical with MS. VI.?

MS. 3231, Colbert, Bibl. du Roi.

XII. No. 7224 $^{3, 3\,a}$ Regius, and Codex Colbert 3231, Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, is a quarto on vellum, contained in twenty-two folios, with double columns. The character is German Gothic, and the initial letters are coloured. A leaf is wanting, and it abounds with clerical errors. This MS. appears to have been copied from the same original as MS. Y $\frac{15}{13}$ Rouen. It is preceded by an imperfect copy of the Life of Bertrand du Guesclin.

MS. Gaignières, Bibl. du Roi.

XIII. No. 752, Collection Gaignières, Bibl. du Roi, Paris, is a small quarto, contained in sixty-seven folios, on paper. The first part of the history, until the Duke of Gloucester's invitation to the Abbot of St. Albans to meet him at Arundel, is wanting. It wants the additional paragraphs, has

many clerical errors, and is a late and condensed copy, but from an early MS.

XIV. No. 8448 [2] Regius, and Baluze 22, known as the 'Ambassades' MS., Bibl. du Roi, Paris. A small folio in a modern character, upon paper, with points and accents, written subsequently to the year 1567 (see note, p. x), and abounding with clerical errors. It contains the additional paragraphs, which, having been less copied, are more correct; and it has one or two slight interpolations by way of reflection. Ambassades MS.

XV. No. 589, Bibliothèque Méjanes, at Aix in Provence. This MS. was formerly (in 1770) in the possession of M. J. L. Cambis, Marquis de Velleron.[1] It is in a quarto volume, upon thick paper, the character Gothic, of the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is contained in ninety-five folios, and is entitled 'Memoires du Fait du Roi Richard Dangleterre et de sa Destruction.' It wants the additional paragraphs, and contains a capital error at the second line, the date 1393 for 1396. The author closes the history by the following verses: Aix MS.

'Explicit la destruction
Du bon Roy Richard Dengleterre,
Qui fut pris par grant trahison
Et mort par les gens de sa terre.
Jhu Crist ait mercy de luy
Et a toute sa compaignie
Qui est morte par la mort de luy
Doint Jhesus perdurable vie.
Amen. Amen.'

XVI. A MS. in the Library of Valenciennes, bound up with the fourth volume of the Chronicles of Froissart. Valenciennes MS.

[1] For the notice of this MS. in the catalogue of Mons. de Cambis, the Editor is indebted to the kindness of Mons. Pottier, the distinguished librarian of Rouen, whose kind and patient assistance in reading with him many difficult passages in various MSS. he has much pleasure in acknowledging.

S. 9848, bl. du Roi.

XVII. MS. No. 9848 Regius, Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris, is contained in a quarto volume, upon paper, and occupies fifty folios. The writing is that of the middle of the fifteenth century. The volume has the royal crown and cypher (L) on the back. The history is entitled 'Memoire du Fait et Destruction du Royaulme Dangleterre.' It wants the additional paragraphs. It is preceded by a history of Normandy, and is immediately followed by a history of the progress of the English arms in France from 1414 to the death of Henry V., identical with that in MS. O $\frac{33}{13}$, Rouen. As the Editor only discovered this MS. (which is not mentioned amongst the MSS. relative to English history in the catalogue of the Royal Library) after the Chronicle was printed, he regrets he has not been able to give the variations. The most important are the following:

Page 9, last line, the Queen's knight is called 'Charles de Beruelay;' pp. 26 and 27, Richard addresses his Queen as 'Ma chere,' and 'Mamye' instead of 'Madame;' and is reported to have kissed her 'XII or XIII' times, not 'XL' times, which points out an evident clerical error; and afterwards 'Le Roi *manda* toutes les dames.' After Richard's departure, Isabel is reported to have remained ill 'de courroux,' p. 33. The King, after his capture, is given in guard to the Earl of Arundel only, not to the Earl and the young Duke of Gloucester, p. 60. When Richard is led to Ledes castle, he has 'un espieu' in his hand, p. 76. An important variation is also given in note [1], p. 235.

On the whole, this is a valuable MS., free from many of the clerical errors which the multiplication of copies led to; although it is not a perfect copy.

GLOSSARY.

The authority mostly followed is the 'Glossaire de la Langue Romane, par Roquefort.'

Abiler; see habiller.

Achaster; to accept a bargain, from *acceptare*.

> 'For whether that he paid, or toke by taille,
> Algate he waited so in his *achate*,
> That he was ay before in good estate.'
> Chaucer's *Manciple*.

Achoison; cause, occasion, from *occasio*, in Low Latin *acheso*.

Acointer; to receive kindly, to meet.

Adestroit; see Destroit.

Affondre; to engulf, from *fundus*.

Affouy; overwhelmed, from *afflere*.

Ainçois, ançoys, ains; before that, but, from *antè*.

Amise; fault.

Amont; on high, up stairs.

Ante, ainte, antaine, aunt; aunt, from *antiqua*.

Appareiller; to prepare, make ready, from *apparare*.

Arizon, pro arçon; saddle-bow.

Arriere; again, from *de retro*.

Assener, assegner; to place, to assign, from *assignare*.

Atarger, atargier; to retard, to wait, from *tardare*.

Auisne, or ainsne; pro aîné.

Aval; down, from *ad vallem*.

Ay; pro et.

Bailler; to give.

Bende, pro bande; a company.

Bouter, boulter; to push, to drive out, from *pulsare*.

Charte, carte; prison, from *carcer*. Hence 'la charte au col;' prison links or chain round the neck.

Chaufferoy, pro chevaucherai; I will ride, from *caballus*.

Cheoir, to fall; 'ne m'en chault,' it matters not to me.

Chief; the head (of the human body).

Cognoitre son cas; to confess one's fault.

Colée ; the blow given by the Sovereign with a sword in the act of creating a knight, from *colaphus.*
Controuve, pro contreuve ; a fable, an invention.
Coy ; quiet, or quietly.

Davon ; pro davant.
Delesser, se delasser ; to afflict one's self.
Delez ; near, by the side of, from *de latere.*
Derechef ; again, from *iterum* and *caput.*
Destrier ; a courser, from *dextrarius,* because managed with the right hand.
Destroit ; oppressed, from *districtus.*
Deviser ; to choose, to stipulate, from *dividere.*
Dreçer, se, pro se deroyer ; to rise up.

Eisne ; pro aîné.
Embatre ; to rush upon, from *immittere.*
Empres, en apres, auprès ; near, from *prope.*
Enczois ; see ainçois.
Endementres ; during, in the meanwhile, from *inde* and *interim.*
Ensa ; within.
Entredeux ; in the meanwhile.
Escarteller ; to divide a body into four quarters.
Espieu ; a hunting-spear, (*venabulum.*)
Estoonement ; with astonishment.
Erre, pro errier ; backwards, back again, from *retro.*
Es ; a contraction for en les.

Faignir, se, se faindre ; to dissimulate, feign, from *fingere.*
Feable, feal ; faithful, but which implies that he of whom the lord speaks is a vassal, and therefore bound to be so.
Ficher ; to fix, from *figere.*
Finer ; to find, to finish, from *finire.*
Foison ; many.
Fors ; save, except.
Fouace, fouache, fouasse ; bread or cakes cooked upon the hearth, from *focula,* Low Latin.
Fourches ; the fourkes, from *furca:* see p. 54, note 5, 'les forches patibulaires de Montfaucon.'
Frier, pro effraer ; to be enraged.

Gesir ; to lie, from *jacere.*
Gesiz, giste ; dwelling.

Guerpir, pro deguerpir; to abandon, to quit, from *discerpere:* allied also to the German 'werfen' and the Old English 'waif,' in the term '*waifs* and strays,' *i. e.* things thrown away.

Habiller, se; to make ready, to prepare, from *habilis.*
Hart; a cord, the band of a fagot. 'Sur la hart,' on pain of being hanged.
Haulczer, haucher; to raise up.
Hideur; fright.
Horrons, horions; a blow received on the head, a corruption of *d'oreillons.*
Hucher, pronounced vocher; to halloo, to whistle, from *vocare.*
Huis, huys; gate, window-shutter, and subsequently house, from *ostium:* hence 'uissier,' porter of audience, and our word 'usher.' 'A huis clos,' with closed doors and shutters.

Illecques; there.

Joe; apparently the cheek. The only explanation the Editor has met with is in a MS. of the fifteenth century (E. 36) in the Library of Lille: 'Mendibula, joe, ou masquoire auquerole' (?)
Jus; down on the ground, from *jusum,* pro *deorsum.*

Leans, pro là-dedans; within, here.
Lesser; to quit, from *laxare.*
Lez; side: 'lez a lez,' side by side.
Loing; by the side of.

Maltalent; spite, resentment.
Mendre, pro moindre; less.
Meschef; misfortune, mischief, possibly from meschéoir, *malè cadere.*
Meure; participle of murier, to imprison, from *muro cingere.*
Mie; not at all.
Moure; a horse's nose-bag, which contains his provender.
Mucez, mucer; to conceal, from *amicire.*

Nanil, nennil; not at all, by no means; a strong colloquial negation.
Nef; a ship, from *navis;* by the Troubadours called *nau.*
Noise, noase, noixe; quarrel, strife, from *noxia.*

Octroyer; to grant, to consent: in Low Latin *atriare.*
Oncques; ever, from *unquam.*
Ou, pro au; at the: it has the power of *ad.*

Papegay, pépejay, papegault; a parrot, popinjay, or papingot.
Pieça; a space of time, from *spatium*.
Pleger; to become bail for any one.
Pouoie, pro pouye, un peu; a little.
Preigne, pro prends.
Proudome, pro preudhomme; brave or worthy man.

Queoir, pro querir.

Recorder; to remind, to recal.
Regarde; the watch of an army, the officer who makes the round.
Ressere, pro resserve; except.
Ribaut; wretch, libertine, bandit, from *ribaldus*.
Rondele; a long convex shield covered with leather.
Rouçin, roussin; a sumpter-horse, or a horse for a servant.

'He rode upon a rouncie.'
CHAUCER, *Prol. Cant. Tales.*

Sacher; to draw out, from *excutere*.
Saillir, future sauldra; to thrust, draw out.
Se, pro si.
Seult; was accustomed, from *solere*.
Sien; poss. pronoun: 'ung sien,' one of his; in the Romane dialect, 'suen.'
Sus; above, upon, from *sursum*. 'Sus et jus,' high and low.

Tart, pro tard; late. 'Sur le tart,' towards nightfall.
Tousdis; always, every day, from *totis diebus*.
Tresbuscher; to fall.
Tynel, tinel; standard, but applied exclusively to the standard of the Sovereign.

Voirement, pro vraiment.
Vuider, voider; to quit, to depart, to take away: hence our word 'avoid;' and 'an avoider,' afterwards corrupted to 'waiter.' See page 276.

Yssir; to go out, from *exire:* hence issues, revenues.

ICY SENSUIT

LA TRAISON ET MORT

DU

ROY RICHART DENGLETERRE.

LE Roy Richart rendi la ville de Brest ⁊ le chastel au duc de Bretaigne lan mil ccc iiij^{xx} xvj. Et quant le duc ot receue la dicte ville de Brest Si bouta hors ⁊ donna congie a touz ceulx qui furēt dedans. Et quāt ceulx qui auoyent tenue ⁊ gardee la dicte ville vindrent en Engleſtre Adonc commenca lenuie entre le Roy Dangleterre et son oncle le duc de Clocestre [1] le conte Darondel ⁊ pluſs autres seigneurs. Il est aſſ que le Roy Richart fist une feste a Wastmonstier et dist qui voulloit aler a Bresteau [2] ⁊ droictemēt a celle feste arriuerēt les souldoyers qui auoyēt tenu [3] Brest pour le Roy lesquelz furent receuz ⁊ vindrēt disner en la salle du Roy.[4] Et quant le disner fu fait et que le Roy ot prins vin ⁊ espices Adonc cōmēca le duc de Clocestre a parler au Roy en disant monſ navez vous mie veu a disner les compaignōs qui

Surrender of Brest.

The garrison returns to England, June 1397.

VARIANTES.

[1] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], and *MS. Ambassades* read 'Clocestre,' as in the text; all the other *MSS.* read 'Glocestre.' So in other places.

[2] *MS. V*, Breteau; *MS. Ambass.*, Vresceau; *Latin Chronicles of the Monk of Saint-Denys*, Bristou. 'In a blessed borugh that Bristow is named.' *Contemporary Poem.*

[3] *MS. O*, arriuerent a Bresteau les souldoiers qui auoent tenu la sallō du Roy. A line is evidently omitted in this MS.

[4] *MS. Ambass.*, en la ville du Roy et en sa salle.

Dispute between the King and the Duke of Gloucester.

estoiēt icy Adonc le Roy lui demāda Beaulx oncles quelz cōpaignōs estoient cela le duc de Clocestre responda au Roy monſ ce sont vos gens qui sont venus[1] de Brest lesquelz vous ont loyaumēt ſuy Et ilz ont este mauuaisement paiez ⁊ ne sceuent que faire Adonc dist le Roy Ilz seront paiez du tout en tout Et commāda que les souldoyers fussent assignez sur iiij bons villaiges pres de Londres, la viuront ilz a mes despens tāt quilz ſont paiez de par moy Adonc respōdi le duc de Clocestre bien orgueilleusemēt Sire vous deussiez ꝑmieremᷤt tant faire de vostre corps que vous prinsiez une ville sur vos ennemis par fait de guerre ou par force auant que vous rendissiez ou vendissiez aucune ville[2] que vos predecesseurs Roys Dāgleterre ont gaigniee ⁊ conquise[3] Adonc le Roy respondi bien felōnessᷤmt Coment dictes vous cela lequel duc son oncle lui dist encores une foiz[4] Adonc le Roy se courroussa et dist au duc Cuidez voꝰ que je soye marchant ou foulx[5] que Je vende ma terre par Saint Jehan Baptiste nennil Maiz il est verite que nr̃e cousin de ....[6] ⁊ Bretaigne nous a rendue ⁊ paiee bien ⁊ loyalᷤmt la sōme q̃ mes predecesseurs lui auoyēt prestee pour la ville de Brest Et puis quil nous a bien paie cest bien[7] quil ait ses gaiges arriꝭ[8] Ainsi cōmēca lenuie entre le Roy Richart et le duc de Clocestre.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, ont tenu Brest; *MS. Y*, auoient tenu Brest.

[2] *MS. O*, que vous rendissez ou vendissez neis [pro *ne les*] une ville.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* and *MS. O* read, 'conquis par fait de guerre ou pour or ou par argent A quoy le Roy,' &c.

[4] *MS. O*, luy dist bñ acre une foiz; *MS. Y*, Le quel duc son oncle le luy recorda derechief une foiz.

[5] *MSS. Y* and *O*, faulx.

[6] A blank in the MS. All the other MSS. read, 'ñre cousin de Bretaigne.' Possibly *Richmond* is intended.

[7] *MS. O*, and most others, 'cest bien raison.'

[8] The word 'arriere' (derechef) is found only in this *MS.* and in *MS. O.* In the other copies it is wanting.

IL est verite que ilz se partirent gracieusemt par bõnes parolles lũ de lautre cõme ilz deussẽt[1] faire par raison mais lẽuie ne fust de riens plus petite[2] cõbien quilz sen ꝑtissẽt par bel sẽblant deuant les gens et demoura lenuie entre le Roy ⁊ le duc de Clocestre ainsy sans plus de ꝑolles jusq̃s a un poy de temps apres, et firent lun a lautre bonne chiere de mauluays courage lequel ilz auoient lun deuꝰs lautre cõme il appert on royaume Dẽgleterre[3] et au duc et a pluseurs du royaume. They separate with apparent friendship.

Il est verite quil auoit un abbe a Saint Alban a vint lieues pres de Londres en Engleterre le quel abbe estoit parrain du dit duc de Clocestre le quel auoit tenu en baptesme[4] le dit duc[5] poꝛ le temps quil fut ne a Hocstoc[6] de la Honcsiforde[7] Et il est verite quil auoit un ꝑeur a Wastmonstier ẽpres Londres lequel ꝑeur fu grandemẽt amy du duc ⁊ du dit Abbe de Saint Alban. Plot laid at St. Albans.

Il est verite que le dit abbe de Saint Alban parrain du dit duc enuoya querir le grãt ꝑeur de Wastmonsẗ au quel il fist ꝑer par messaiges quil venist parler a lui sans faillir[8] car se seroit grandemẽt a son prouffit. Et quãt le dit prieur de Wastmõsẗ arriva a Saint Alban en la chambre de The Abbot sends for the Prior of Westminster.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, deuoient.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, de riens mendre; *MS. O*, rens de moins; *MS. Y*, ne fut point pour ce oustee de leurs cueurs.

[3] 'et au duc et a pluseurs du royaume,' is wanting in *MS. Y*, and in most others.

[4] *MS. Y*, lauoit sus fons et portoit le nom de Thomas pour leure, &c.

[5] *MS. O*, le dit duc Thomas de Glocestre.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, Hostec de la Hontsisifforde; *MS. O*, Hostat par dela Hocsoinforde; *MS. Ambass.*, 'Alpescot' & 'Honessorde.'

[7] *MS. Le Beau* omits the greater part of this sentence, from 'lequel abbe' to 'Honcsiforde' inclusive, and reads, 'lequel étoit grand ami au duc de Glocestre et estoit son parrein par baptesme.'

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, sans faulte; *MS. O*, sans faulte du mõde; *MS. Y*, sans faire de moures. See *Glossary*.

labbe la fut il receu a grant feste car il trouua le duc de Clocestre assiz au disner[1] et apres labbe et le ꝑeur se assirent au bout de la table du duc Et apres disner a la collacō labbe cōmenca a demāder au prieur de Wastmonstier dictes ꝑeur se Dieux vous aide et Saint George auez vous eu point dauision en ceste nuit de nulle chose de cest monde Oil se dist le ꝑeur Or dictes dist le duc au ꝑeur la verite de vostre aduision.

Il est verite que le ꝑeur se mist a genoulx deuāt le duc de Clocestre en la ꝑnce de labbe ⁊ pria au duc ⁊ a labbe quilz lui pardonnassent ce quil diroit de son aduision Et dist que il lamoit mieulx a taire que a le dire Adonc dist labbe au ꝑeur dictes le hardiemēt monſ le vous pardonne lors dist le ꝑeur par Dieu ⁊ par Saint George messeigneurs Il mestoit aduis en ceste nuit pardōnez moy que le Royaume ſoit ꝑdu par nr̄e ſ le Roy Richart Adonc dist labbe par la Vierge Marie il mestoit ainsi aduis Et Je vous diray raison cōmēt Monſr ⁊ beau filz Je vous prie quil ne vous desplaise de ce q̄ nous vous auons dit de nr̄e aduision a vostre requeste Car vous pouez bien sauoir quant un Roy cōmēce a dōner ses villes que ses predecesseurs ont conquises par guerre pour[2] or ou par argent cōme le Roy nr̄e ſ a cōmēce a faire Cest aff quil a rendu deux bōnes forteresses es mains de ces ennemis lesquelles estoiēt bonnes ⁊ prouffitables pour le royaume Dengleterre cōme vous pouez sauoir Cest Brest quil a rendue au duc de Bretaigne et Chierbourc au Roy de Nauarre[3] lesquelles estoient bōnes ⁊ ꝑufitabl a nostre royaume Dengleterre en fait de guerre Adonc respondi le duc

[1] *MS. Le Beau*, séants au disner en grand liesse.

[2] The later *MSS.* read 'par or.'

[3] 'lesquelles estoient,' and the rest of the sentence, are omitted in *MS. Lebaud.*

a labbe[1] ⁊ au· ꝑeur ⁊ leur dist que on y mettroit bon remede et ce seroit en brief tēps Apres le duc dist a labbe ⁊ au ꝑeur Je vo[9] prie entre vous deux que vous ne laissiez mie que vous ne soyez du jour duy en xv jours a Arondel au disner ⁊ disnerons la ēsemble Apres que ce le duc de Clocestre fu party de Saint Alban Il retourna en son hostel a Londres et enuoya lr̄es closes au cōte Derby[2] en lui priant que il venist parler a lui a Arondel a un ꝯtain jour que le dit Abbe deuoit estre la Apres il enuoya au conte mareschal qui fu cappitaine de Calaix[3] Au conte de Warwiic[4] et a larceuesque de Cantorbye ⁊ leur manda quilz venissēt a Arōdel a ꝯtain jour a estre la Et pareillemēt enuoya au conte Darondel ⁊ lui manda quil venoit la disner[5] auecques lui et tous les autres seigneurs quil amenoit auecques lui Et le conte Darōdel lui enuoya response quil ꝺoit le tres bien venu et tous les autres seigneurs lesquieulx il lui plairoit de y amener en sa cōpaignie.

The Duke of Gloucester appoints a meeting at Arundel.

Invites the Earl Derby and other peers to meet him.

IL est verite que le duc de Clocestre arriua a Arondel le viij[e] jour deuant le moys daoust[6] lan mil ccc iiij[xx] ⁊ xvj ˌ le cōte Derby le conte mareschal ˌ larceuesque de Cantorbye labbe de Saint Alban ˌ et le prieur de Wastmonst̄ Et quāt ces seign[rs] furent assis au disner adonc arriua le conte de Warwiic ˌ et quāt il vint deuant les seigneurs le duc de Clocestre dist

Meeting at Arundel, 28 July 1397.

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[1] *MS. Le Beau* reads, 'Damp abbé, or vous apaisez; car sachez que bien brief on y pourveoira.'

[2] *MS. Ambass.*, d'Elbi.

[3] *MS. O*, le comte mareschal fustre (?) capp[ne] de Calays.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, Warwit; *MS. Y*, Varouic; *MS. O*, Warwyk; *MS. Le Beau*, Warvicq: so throughout.

[5] In *MS. Lebaud* the sentence ends here; but *MS. O* has in addition, 'et quil leur vouloit faire bonne chiere ad ce iour.'

[6] *MS. Y* reads, 'xxiij[e] jour de Juillet;' *MS. Le Beau*, le huitième jour de Février.

au conte de Warwiic, preudome[1] il vous conuiēt jurer ainsi come nous auons fait Adonc respondi le conte au duc monſ que voullez vous que Je jure Alors dist le duc au conte vous jurerez ainsi cōme nous auōs fait Sil vous plaist a estre bon ⁊ loyal au Royaume Et aussi a estre bon ⁊ loyal lun a lautre[2] Et fu verite q̄ tous les seigneurs se reposerent la celle nuit et lendemain oirēt la messe ⁊ la chanta larceuesque de Cantorbye ⁊ dōna le sacremt au duc de Clocestre ⁊ apres au conte Derby, ⁊ aussi le donna au conte Darondel son frere Et au conte mareschal lequel auoit espousee la fille du conte Darondel Et puis apres[3] le donna au conte de Warwiic, Et quāt tous les seigneurs orent este a la messe ilz se retraierent en une chābre de conseil ⁊ la furent ilz dacort de prendre le noble Roy Richart le duc de Lenclastre et le duc de Yort[4] pour mettre en une prison perpetuellemēt ⁊ tous les autres seigneurs du cōseil du Roy Richart seroyēt touz[5] traisnez et penduz Ainsi fu leur conseil ⁊ leur seremēt pour acomplir leur fait En tel party estoit leur ordonnance et leur ēprinse, Et le deuoiēt acōplir on mois daoust lan mil ccc iiij^{xx} ⁊ xvj. Il est verite que le conte mareschal qui fu capitaine de Calaiz fist assauoir au Roy Richart tout leur conseil et le jour que ilz cōmenceroyēnt a acomplir leur fait Et quāt le Roy Richart oy ceste nouuelle du conte mareschal lequel fu de leur acort et emprinse

The Earl Marshal discloses the conspiracy.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, preudons; *MS. Y*, prondoms; *MS. O*, preude hōme.

[2] *MSS. O* and *Y* read, 'jusques a la mort.' The latter has in addition, 'Et il repondit que oil et fist le serement par la maniere que les autres auoient fait.'

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Et au derreniere au conte de Warwit.

[4] *MS. Le Beau*, d'Yorck; *MS. Y*, le duc de Yorc son frere; *MS. O*, le duc de Yoert.

[5] *MSS. Lebaud* and *O*, trestouz.

par semblant[1] ⁊ non de fait Adonc dist le Roy au conte regardez bien que vous dictes Car se je le treuue vray Je le vous pardonne. Mais se Je ne le treuue vray vous vos en repentirez sans faulte Adonc respondi le conte mareschal au Roy. Se vous le trouuez autremēt faictez moy escarteller et mettre aux quatre boues Dangleterre ⁊ soyez sur vostre garde Je vos en suppli Adonc tantost apres ces parolles lesquelles furent droit ainsi declarees ⁊ monstrees en plain parlemēt[2] quāt le conte Darondel fu jugie a mourir. Adonc les parolles ainsy oyes le Roy Richart sen ala disner a Londres en lostel de son frere le cōte Dontinton[3] en la rue darrues leglise de toussains sur la riuiere de la Thamise en un tres belhostel. Et apres disner le Roy fist assauoir a son conseil les quelz furēt daccort que le Roy mōteroit a cheual ⁊ son frere le conte Dontinton ⁊ le conte mareschal en sa compaignie et quilz assembleroient toutes les gens[4] quilz pourroyēt finer. Adonc il monta a cheual a vj heures ⁊ droit a leure de souper[5] dont ceulx de Londres auoyēt grāt merueille Et quāt le Roy vint bñ pres de la Court[6] ou son oncle le duc de Clocestre estoit. Il cōmanda a son frere le conte Dontinton[7] quil alast deuāt auecqs un pou de gens ⁊ quil demādast se le duc estoit a lostel ⁊ quil deist

The King arrests the Duke of Gloucester.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'par semblant;' *MS. Y* omits 'par semblant et non de fait.'

[2] *MS. Le Beau,* Tantost fist le Roi assembler ung parlement des seigneurs en qui plus il se fioit.

[3] *MS. Le Beau,* d'Antidon; *MS. O,* Homptenton; *MS. Y,* Hontinton; *MS. Lebaud,* de Hoincon, en la rue derriere Saint Pol sur la Thamise.

[4] *MS. Lebaud* reads, 'les gens *du pais.*'

[5] *MS. Y,* et cheuaucha a des six heures au matin iusques a heure de souper, et le lendemain au matin; *MS. Le Beau,* et environ six heures de nuit montèrent à cheval le Roi, &c.—'et chevauchièrent tant que bien matin vindrent à l'ostel du duc de Glocestre.' *Chroniques d'Angleterre par Jehan de Waurin,* sur le vespre.

[6] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], reads, 'pres de Clocestre.'

[7] *MS. Lebaud,* Hontincon.

au duc que le Roy venoit deuſs luy pour parler a luy, le quel conte Dontinton ala deuant auec x hoīmes a cheual en la Court du duc lequel demāda se le duc estoit a lostel Et une damoiselle respondi Oil, monſ ⁊ madame sont encores en leur lit Adonc le conte Dontinton dist a la damoiselle Je vous prye quil vous plese a aler deuſs monſ le duc et lui dictes que monſ le Roi est venu icy pour parler a lui car le Roy vendra tantost, Adonc le Roy auait fait une petite bataille de gens darmes et de grant foison darchiers et vint cheuauchant en la basse court de son oncle et sa trompette sōnoit deuāt Adonc le duc de Clocestre descendi[1] de sa maison et vint en la basse court ou le Roy estoit, et pour certain navoit le duc autre chose vestu fors que ses draps linges et un mātel entour ses espaulles Et la duchesse vint apres son seigneur a tout ses dames ⁊ damoiselles Et se mist le duc a genoulx deuāt le Roy disant monſ vous soyez le bienvenu Tres chīr ſ comēt est ce que vous estez venuz si matin icy sans moy faire sauoir vostre venue Et le Roy respondi Bel oncle alez vous vestir ⁊ apres nous parlerons ensēble, Le duc retourna amōt par le cōmādemīt du Roy ⁊ sen ala vestir, et le Roy descendi de son cheual ⁊ tint parolles a la duchesse et aux dames, Et son frere le conte Dontinton ⁊ pluſs autres seigneurs mōtrerēt apres le duc en son chastel ⁊ la attendirēt en la salle tant quil fut vestu, Et tantost vindrēt touz ensēble en la basse court où le Roy estoit, le quel pria a la dame quelle sen retournast amont Car il ne vouloit la plus attendre Et dist, Beaulx oncles il vous cōuient venir auecqs moy, Le quel respondi au Roy, Monſ je le feray tres

[1] *MS.* Y, qūt le duc oyt la noise et le brut il descēdit. — For the primary meaning of 'noise' see *Glossary*.

voullentiers ꝯt puis [1] mōta a cheual Et quant le Roy et toutes ses gens furent hors de la porte de la basse court le Roy dist au conte mareschal menez mon oncle en nostre tour de Londres la vueil je parler a lui [2] ꝯt non autremēt Et eust le duc tres voulentiers parle au Roy. Maiz le Roy ne voulst aucūement parler a lui ne oncques puis a luy ne parla.

Arrest of the Earls of Arundel and Warwick.

GT il est verite que quant le Roy party de Londres pour aler prendre son oncle le duc de Clocestre ainsi cōme il le fist Il envoya a le conte de Rotelan [3] le conte de Kent a grant foison de gens darmes et darchiers pour prendre le conte Darondel Et quāt le conte Darondel fu prins il enuoya prendre le cōte de Warwiic. Et furent touz trois en la tour de Londres [4] Maiz le Roy enuoya son oncle a Calaiz et la [5] le fist mourir Et quant le Roy Richart entra a Londres et tous les autres seigneurs du royaume auecques luy le dimēche deuant le jour de la Saincte Croix en Septembre Et lendemain cōmenca le grant parlemēt Et le cōmencemēt du parlemēt fu que le Roy fist sa cōplainte du gouu̾nemēt des ces seigneurs Et cōmēt ilz lauoyēt despose de sa couronne en sa jeunesse Et la Royne [6] fut aussy iij heures a genoulx deuant le conte Darondel pour le prier poʳ un sien cheʳ appelle Jehan de Carnalay [7] le-

The Duke of Gloucester put to death.

Meeting of parliament at Westminster, Sept. 17, 1397.

[1] *MS. Y*, incontinent.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, after the words 'parler a lui,' has only, 'et le Roy ny parla point lors ne depuis.'

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Rotheland; *MS. Ambass.*, Rothellend; *MS. O*, Rotoland; *MS. Y*, Rothelen; *MS. Le Beau*, Rostelland.

[4] *MS. O*, en la tour de Londres mis.

[5] *MS. Y*, et illecques le fist mourir; *MS. Le Beau*, là fut décollé.

[6] *MS. Y*, Et que la Reine *veufue*.

[7] *MS. Y*, Jehan de Beruelay; *MS. Le Beau*, Jehan Cavrelay; *MS. O* omits the name; *MS. Ambass.*, Carnailly; *Rot. Parl.*, Symonde de Burlee.

quel ot ce non obstant la teste copee.[1] Et le quel conte respondi a la Royne. Mamie p̄ez po^r vo^9 et pour vostre mary il le vault mieulx. Lautre jour apres le Roy fist sa cōplainte de la grant traison laquelle ilz auoyēt encōmence de faire enu̅s lui ⁊ enu̅s touz les seigneurs de son conseil Pour laquelle traison le conte Darondel fu jugie a mourir et dauoir la teste copee.[2] Ainsi come len fist Et apres quant le conte Darondel fu mis a mort. lendemain fu larceuesq̄ de Cantorbye son frere banny a tousiours Et sire Thomas de Mortemer fu baniz aussi[3] Et le conte de Warwiic fu deuant la justice[4] le quel cognut et confessa toute la traison en plain parlement criant mercy au Roy Et dist le conte la verite au Roy. ⁊ dist[5] que on ne le pourroit faire mourir de trop mauuaise mort Car il lauoit bien deseruy. Maiz il en cria m̂cy au Roy et au conseil Adonc le Roy ot pitie de luy et lui donna sa vie Maiz il fu jugie a estre emprinsone pour tousiours-maiz sur une isle[6] laquelle isle fu a mon̄ Gille Scroup conte de Liloman[7] ⁊ tresorier Dengleſ̄re le quel deuoit faire garder en prison le conte de Warwiic ⁊ lui furēt assignez iiij^m nobles pour les despens et pour la garde du dit conte. Lendemain que le plemēt fu passe cōmāda le Roy Richart a ceulx de Londres que ilz fussent touz armes car il voulloit

Arundel executed.

The Archbishop of Canterbury banished; and Sir Thomas Mortemer.

The Earl of Warwick banished to the Isle of Man.

The King reviews the citizens, Monday, Oct. 1.

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[1] *MS. O*, tr'schee (tranchée); *MS. Le Beau*, eut le chief coupé.

[2] *MS. Ambass.* adds, 'comme l'en fist au chevalier de la Royne.'

[3] *MS. V*, et sire Thomas de Montermer fut a touioursmēs banniz sancz rappelez.

[4] *MSS. O* and *V*, le parlement.

[5] *MS. O* reads, 'et le Roy lui dist.' In this reading it stands alone.

[6] *MS. V*, sur une isle qui estoit sur mer.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, Lilomen; *MS. O*, Scrop comte Dellomain; *MS. V*, Guille Strop conte de Lemen; *MS. Le Beau*, Scroup conte d'Ellain; *MS. Ambass.*, de Klomain; *MS.* 7224, [3 3 a], Strop conte Dalomen. The original *MS.* read, no doubt, with our text, 'Liloman,' (l'isl o' Man).

veoir leur pouoir et lestat de la ville Ainsi cõme il la cõmãda il fu fait Et le Roy et le duc de Lenclastre vindrẽt a iiij cheuaulx poʳ veoir ceulx de la ville. Et lendemain tint le Roy Richart court ouuſte ⁊ fist a ce jour iiij ducz, et iiij contes[1] Cest aſſ le conte Derby fut fait duc Dauorde,[2] le conte de Rotelan fu fait duc Daumarle et le conte de Kent fu fait duc de Sudrien, et le frere du Roy Richart le conte Dontinton fu fait duc Dexcestre Sire Guiłłe Scroup fu fait conte de Liloman le sire Despensier fu fait conte de Clocestre et le filz de feu le conte Destarfuorde fu fait cõte de Estarfuorde[3] et sire Thomas de Persy fu fait conte ⁊ tint le Roy grant Court et grãt feste Et au souper les heraulx auoyẽt grans dons des seigneurs et des dames, et cryoient largesce Et la dame Dexcestre ot le pris[4] pour la mieulx dancant[5] Et bien tost apres ala a Estembory[6] ⁊ la fut ordonne un autre parlemẽt pour chastier ceulx de Londres Et aussi se le duc Daruorde fust la venu et le duc de Noruolt[7] ilz y fussent demourez,[8] ⁊ leur eust on les testes copees Et ainsi come le Roy vint cheuauchant a Estrembory Adonc vint le duc Henry Daruorde et dõna une supplicacon

Creation of peers.

The King sets out for Shrewsbury.

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[1] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], does not give the names or titles of any of the peers.

[2] *MS. Le Beau,* 'd'Arvodre' and 'd'Arvordre;' *MS. Y,* de Hafforde; *MS. Ambass.,* d'Aruolde.

[3] *MS. Lebaud,* le conte Dauorde; *MS. Y,* et le fils de feu le conte de Stemforde fut fait conte de Norde Et fut fait conte sire Thomas de Pierre; *MS. Le Beau,* et fut messire Guillaume de Persy fait conte de Worcestre.

[4] *MS. O,* lauoit lonᵉʳ (l'honneur).

[5] *MS.* 7224 adds, 'et le mieulx chantant;' so *MS.* 635, *Bibl. du Roi,* according to Mr. Webb.

[6] *MS. Lebaud,* Estrambory; *MS. Y,* Estiẽbourry; *MS. O,* Estrembroy; *MS. Le Beau,* Estenbory; *Statutes of the Realm,* 'Solopbirs' and 'Salopbirs;' so also *Rot. Parl.*

[7] *MS. Y,* Norbort; *MS. Le Beau,* Norvolh; *MS. Gaignières,* Henry de Norde; *MS.* 7224, [3 3 a], Norbord.

[8] *MS. O* reads, 'poʳ chastir ceulx de Londres et auxi le duc Dauorde Ilz y fussent demourez et eust on coupper leʳs testes.'

au Roy en la quelle il appella le duc de Noruolt po[1] traictre.

Henry of Lancaster accuses the Duke of Norfolk of treason.

IL est verite que quāt le duc Henry Daruorde ot donnee la supplicacon au Roy Richart la quelle faisoit mencion quil appelloit le duc de Noruolt en champ de bataille[1] pour faulx traitre ⁊ desloyal au royaume Dengleterre Et quāt le Roy ot leue la supplicacon il la fist lire deuāt le duc de Noruolt et le duc Daruorde en la ꝑnce deulx deux Et apres quāt tout fut leu respondi le duc de Noruolt que de tout ce que le duc Dauorde vouldroit dire contre luy autre chose que bien il mentoit faulsemēt[2] cōme faulx cheſtr quil estoit[3] le Roy demāda au duc Daruorde,[4] dictes Henry de Lencastre cousin vostre supplicacon la quelle jay receu de vous ⁊ icy a este leue, que en dictes vo[s] en la ꝑnce de toutes ces gens Adonc le duc Daruorde osta son chappel de sa teste lequel fu noir,[5] et dist monſ[r] ainsi que la supplicacon fait mencion la quelle je vous presente maintenāt je dy pour vray que Thomas Moſbray duc de Noruolt tel cōme il est, est faulx traitre ⁊ desloyal enuers vous ⁊ vostre royal mageste a vostre couronne aux seigneurs ⁊ a tout le peuple de vostre royaume Adonc le Roy demāda au duc de Noruolt quen dictes vous Thomas, Lequel respondi au Roy Tres chier ſ a vre cōgie que je puisse respondre a vostre cousin saulue votre reuerence Je dy que Henry de Lenclastre duc Daruorde a menti ⁊ ment de ce quil a dit ⁊ vouldra dire sur moy cōme faulx traitre ⁊ desloyal que il est,

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[1] *MS. Y*, quil appello[t] de gage le duc de Norbort.

[2] *MS. Y*, faulcement et mauuaisement.

[3] *MS. O*, de ce dire.

[4] *MS. O*, le Roy demanda a Thomas de Lēcastre, cousin.

[5] The words 'lequel fu noir' are wanting in the later MSS.

Ho nous auons assez de ce oy[1] Et le Roy cõmãda au duc de Sudrien[2] lequel estoit adonc mareschal Dengleterre quil arrestast de par lui les deux seigneurs. Et il est verite que le duc de Lenclastre pere du duc Daruorde le duc de Yort le duc Darmarle connestable ⁊ le duc de Sudryen mareschaĩ ces iiij princes furẽt pleiges[3] corps pour corps pour le duc Daruorde Et le duc de Noruolt ne fu point creu dauoir plege[4] lequel fu mene en arrest a Windesorde ⁊ la auoit il maistries qui le gardoient jusques a la journee quilz furẽt jugiez a combattre. ⁊ la auoit il maistres pour faire armeures[5] tant quil lui en plaisoit pour son corps.

The two Dukes placed under arrest.

The Duke of Hereford bailed.

The Duke of Norfolk committed to Windsor Castle.

Item il est vray que quãt le Roy Richart retourna du parlemẽt de Scrembory en lan mil ccc iiij^{xx} ⁊ xviij on moys de Januier[6] ⁊ xl jours apres fut la journee a Windesore pour ouir les deux seigneurs lesquelz auoyent appelle lun lautre de traison. et estoit le Roy Richart sur un grant eschaffaut au lieu lequel fu fait en la place du chastel la fu le Roy assiz et tous les seigneurs ⁊ prelaz de son royaume ⁊ la fist on venir le duc Daruorde conte Derby appellant Apres vint le duc de Noruolt conte mareschal deffendãt. la cõmẽca a parler sire Jehan Boissy[7] de par le Roy disant. Entre vous messeignrs vous pouez sauoir que le Duc daruorde ꝑsenta une supplicacõn a nr̃e ꝟ le Roy lequel est icy en la chaiere de justice pour faire droit a touz ceulx qui le requerront au jourduy

The parties appear before a high court of chivalry at Windsor, Monday, 29 April 1398.

[1] *MS. Y*, ho ho dist le Roy nous auons assez de ce.

[2] *MS. Y*, au duc de Sudzien lequel pour lors fut mareschal Dangleterre.

[3] *MS. O*, gagerẽt corps por corps.

[4] *MS. O*, ne fut point appleglie mais fut mene en arrest a Windesore et baille a gens por le garder, &c.; *MS. Le Beau*, et le duc de Norvolth n'eust point de pleiges seuffisans, et pour ce demoura à Widesore prisonnier.

[5] *MS. Y*, et la auoit maist's armeuriers pour son corps, &c.

[6] *MS. O*, le xe jour de Jãuier et fut leur jour mis de ouir les deux srs a Windezore.

[7] *MS. O*, Messire Jehan de Boussy.

Ainsi cõme il appert a sa royal mageste Et il fu crye ⁊ cõmãde trois jours deuãt[1] depar le Roy que nul des deux parties de lun coste ne de lautre fussent si hardiz de porter aucunes armeures sur paine destre traisnez ⁊ penduz.[2] Et quant le Roy Richart fut assiz en la chaiere de justice il cõmãda a sire Jehan Boissy quil feist venir auãt les deux seigneurs pour oir leur cause quilz vouilloiẽt dire lũ cõtre lautre, ⁊ le Roy leur fist demãder silz vouloiẽt accorder ⁊ faire paix ensemble ou non ⁊ q̃ la paix fust la meilleur ce dist le Roy le connestable ⁊ le mareschal alerent par le cõmãdemẽt du Roy parler au duc Daruorde et au duc de Noruolt, et leur prierent depar le Roy quilz se voulsissent accorder ⁊ faire bonne paix ensemble,[3] et le Roy leur pardonnoit toutes leurs parolles ⁊ meffaiz quilz auoyẽt diz lũ contre lautre, et toutes choses quilz pourroiẽt auoir meffait encontre lui ⁊ son royaume Et ilz respondirẽt touz deux que jamaiz paix ne ſa faicte Et quãt le Roy ot entẽdu ilz ne vouloyent faire paix Il cõmãda que on les fist venir deuant lui pour ouir leurs parolles et ce quilz vouldroyẽt dire Adonc un herault crya depar le Roy que le duc Daruorde ⁊ le duc de Noruolt venissent deuant le Roy dire chascũ sa raison ou quilz feissẽt paix ensemble, Et quãt ilz furẽt venuz en la p̃nce du Roy ⁊ du conseil Adonc dist le Roy[4] de sa ꝑpre bouche fc̃es paix ensemble cest le meilleur Sauve vostre grace tres chr ⁊ souuerain Sire il ne pourroit dist le duc de Noruolt gardant mon honeur[5] Adonc dist le Roy au

The King endeavours to reconcile them;

but without success.

The King again entreats them to be reconciled.

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[1] *MS. O*, Et fut crie troys foiz de par le Roy.

[2] *MS. O*, sur paine dest' conuaincuz cõme traistres.

[3] *MS. O*, de par le Roy parler aux deux s^rs les amounestez cõme ilz vousissẽt faire paix.

[4] *MS. Le Beau*, Ainçois leur dist le Roi.

[5] *MS. V*, il ne porroit estre dit le duc de Norbort, il touche trop grandement mon honneur.

duc Daruorde, Henry dictes quelle chose vous demādez au duc de Noruolt ou pour quoy vous ne faictez paix ensemble,[1] le duc Daruorde auoit un chr[2] le quel demāda cōgie au Roy ⁊ au conseil de parler pour le duc Daruorde et on lui donna congie de parler, et cōmenca ainsi, Tres chr ⁊ tres souuerain Seignr cy est Henry de Lenclastre duc Daruorde ⁊ conte Derby lequel dit et moy depar lui que Thomas duc de Noruolt a receu pour vous viijc mille nobles[3] pour paier vos gens darmes quilz gardent vostre ville de Calaiz, lequel il na pas fait cōme il deuoit, Je dy que cest grant traison ⁊ pour faire perdre vostre ville de Calaiz Et aussy est occasion de toute la traison qui a este faicte en vostre royaume puis xviij ans enca[4] Et a fait par son faulx conseil ⁊ par sa grant mauuaistie[5] mourir ⁊ murdrir mon tres chier oncle le noble duc de Clocestre filz du bon Roy Edouart a qui Dieux pardoint ⁊ le feu frere de mon tres chier ⁊ ꝑs ame pere le duc de Lenclastre, le duc Daruorde ⁊ moy de par lui qui le vuelt prouuer de son corps encontre le corps de Thomas Mo̸bray duc de Noruolt tel quil est entre deux soleilz[6] Adonc le Roy se courrouca et demāda au duc Daruorde se ce fu sa parolle Et il respondi tres chr ſ Oil, et de ce vous requiers droit ⁊ la bataille encontre lui. The accusation against the Duke of Norfolk.

Item le duc de Noruolt auoit un chr bien ancien lequel demāda congie de parler au Roy pour le The Duke of Norfolk's defence.

[1] *MS.* O, comte Darby pourquoy ne faictes vous paix ensemble.

[2] *MS. Le Beau*, Adoncques print la parole ung chevalier qui estoit du conseil.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, 'viijc nobles,' and 'mille'—inserted subsequently. *MS.* O reads 'Et a eu touz les ans depx quil est cappitaine de Callais viij mille nobles quil a p'ns sur voz souldoiers de vostre ville de Callays.'

[4] *MS.* O, encza; *MS.* Y, ensa.

[5] *MSS.* O and Y, par sa grant traison.

[6] *MS.* O, ent deux solleux; *MS. Le Beau*, entre deux soulaiz.

duc de Noruolt, et quāt il ot congie de parler il cōmēca a respōdre ainsi Tres souuerain Sire veez cy Thomas Mo⁹bray duc de Noruolt lequel respont ⁊ dit ⁊ moy depar lui que de tout ce que Henry de Lenclastre a dit ⁊[1] monstre tel quil est, Thomas Mo⁹bray duc de Noruolt dit et moy de par luy sauue la reuc⁹nce du Roy ⁊ du conseil que cest toute mēconge ce quil a dit et a menti faulsemēt ⁊ mauuaisemēt cōme faulx c̄hīr ⁊ desloyal Et a este ⁊ est plus faulx traitre enuers vous vostre courr̃ne ⁊ vostre royal mageste ⁊ vostre royaume quil ne fut oncques ne de cuer ne de fait Ce vueil je prouu⁹ ⁊ moy deffendre cōe un loyal cheualier doit faire de mon corps encontre le sien[2] Tres chier Sire je vous supplie ⁊ a vostre conseil de vostre royal mageste quil vous plaise en vr̃e[s] royal discrec̄on considerer ⁊ retenir en vous ce que Henry de Lencastre duc Daruorde tel quil est a dit Adonc le Roy Richart demāda au duc de Noruolt se ce estoient ses parolles ⁊ sil voulloit plus riens dire, le duc de Noruolt respondi au Roy de sa ꝑpre bouche Tres c̄hīr ꝟ il est verite que jay receu tant dor depar vous pour paier vos gēs de vostre bonne ville de Calaiz ainsi come jay fait Je dy que la ville de Calaiz est ainsi bien gardee et en vostre cōmādement cōme elle fut onqūs, Et aussi que nul de Calaiz ne fist onqūs plaintes de moy vers vous Tres chier ⁊ souuerain seigneur des voyaiges que jay faiz en France pour vostre tres noble marriage Je nen receuz oncques autre or ne autre argent par vous (ne po[r] le voyaige q̄ le duc Darmarle ⁊ moy feismes en Alamaigne[3] ou nous despendimez grāt tresor[4]) et si est vray que jauoye mise une embusche pour tuer le duc de Len-

[1] *MS. Y*, est monstre.

[2] *MS.* O inserts here, 'et apres parla le duc de Noruolt.'

[3] *MS. Y* reads, 'en la menage,' but is not supported by any other MS.; *MS. O*, Almaigne.

[4] *MS. O*, grant thesor; other *MSS.* tresor.

clastre qui la est assiz, et est verite que monſ^{r} le ma pardōne et en a estee faicte bonne paix entre luy et moy de quoy Je len mercye[1] Cest ce que Je vueil dire et respondre ⁊ moy deffendre a lencontre de lui. Je vous req̄er pour droit ⁊ pour la bataille en droit jugemēt[2] Adonc on fist retraire les deux parties ⁊ le Roy parla auecques son conseil Et apres on appella les deux seigneurs de venir auāt pour oir leur responce Adonc le Roy fist demāder[3] a eulx deulx se ilz vouloiēt faire paix ou non, Et ilz respōdirēt tous deux que non, Et le duc Daruorde gecta sus son gaige, ⁊ le duc de Noruolt le receut Adonc le Roy jura Saint Jehan Baptiste q̄ jamaiz paix ne seroit faicte deulx deux de par lui Et sire Jehan Boissy dist de par le Roy, et de par le conseil que le Roy auoit ordōne et cōmāde quilz auoyent journee a Couuentoy[4] sur un Lundy en Aoust et la leur liureroit lices ⁊ place.

The Tournament at Coventry.

Item il est verite que le Dimēche deuant le Lūdy quilz deuoyēt combatre[5] estoyent les seigneurs qui deuoyent cōbatre arriuez en la ville de Cōuētoy Et le duc Daruorde conte Derby ala le dit jour apres disner prēdre congie au Roy Richart de hors la ville ou le Roy fut logie en une tour qui fut a meſſ Guiſſe Bagod a un quart de lieue pres de la ville[6] Et le Lundy enſ au point du jour le duc de Noruolt ala prendre congie au Roy, ⁊ dela ala a Charbus[7] oir trois messes ⁊ dela cheuaucha a sa

Monday, 16th Sept. 1398.

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[1] *MS. O*, la sienne mercy

[2] *MS. Y*, en droit juist.

[3] *MS. O*, lequel derechieff demanda.

[4] *MS. O*, Et leur fut ordonne journee de combatre a Cōuentry a ung Lundi en Aougst. The author of this MS. (Chastelain) has, in like manner, abbreviated the History throughout.

[5] *MS. O*, le Dimanche de deuant le iiij Aougst.

[6] *MS. Y*, hors de la ville de Lyne pres de la dicte ville.

[7] *MS. O*, a Callais (!) *MS. Y*, aux Chartreux; *MS. Lebaud*, Charsbus; *MS.* 10212, $^{3\,b}$, Chonbus.

The Tournament.

tente bien pres des lices pour lui armer Et Jaq̃s Felmc[1] un escuier de Behaigne fu son maistre que le arma Et le duc Daruorde sarma entre la porte de la barriere[2] de la ville en une belle maison ou il auait un bel palays de boys deu̇s la porte que nul ne pouoit veoir dedens, le duc Darmarle connestable, et le duc de Sudrien mareschal entreux deux estoyent tres bien armez leur xxij^{e} et vestuz dune liuree de courtes houpelandez de cendal[3] rouge toutes plaines de [4] caintures en facon de compas dargent ou il auoit escript tout de long en chascune cainture honniz soit celluy qui mal pense[5] A huit heures[6] entrerent dedens les lices le connestable et le mareschal, et touz les autres de par della la mer[7] qui furẽt a la journee, ⁊ un cheualier Descoce qui fu appelle Gaul̇ de Scouwart,[8] Et a ix heures arriva le duc Daruorde appellant en tres noble array ⁊ estat a tout vj beaulx coursiers bien couuerts ⁊ bien armez de ses armez, Et quant il vint aux barrieres des lices Adonc le connestable et le mareschal saillirẽt aux barrieres des lices a lencontre de luy ⁊ lui demãderent quel home il estoit ⁊ quelle chose il demã-

[1] *MS. O*, Jaques Ferlun ung escuier de Bretaigne; *MS. Le Beau*, un escuyer de Behaigne appellé Jacob Folin; *MS. Y*, ung escuier nõme Jaquelin de Behaigne; 10212, 3 b, Jaq'z Felun ung esquier de la Hongrie; *MS. Gaignières*, un escuier de Bretaigne.

[2] *MS. Gaignières*, un bel pallaiz dehors deu's la porte; *MS. Lebaud*, qui larma ent' la porte et la barriere de la ville; *MS. Y*, entre le port et la barrière; *MS. O*, et le duc Dauorde ariua oult' la porte et la barriere; *MS. Le Beau*, s'arma entre la porte de la ville et les barrières des lices.

[3] *MS. Y*, dune liuree de courtes robes de cendal; *MS. O*, dune liuree de courtes robes couuertes de la Jartiere; *MS. Le Beau*, vestus tous d'une parure, courtes houpelandes de vermeil doublées de sendal, et pleins de ceintures de brodures.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, tous plains, et saintures.

[5] *MS. O*, h'ay soit qui mal y pence; *MSS. Lebaud* and *Y*, honny soit qui mal y pense.

[6] *MS. O*, a huit heures du matin.

[7] *MS. O*, aucuns s^{rs} de France qui furẽt en la jõrnee.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, Gault' Scoubart; *MS. O*, Gaultier Sconibart; *MS. Le Beau*, Gaulthier Stuart; *MS. Gaignières*, Gaultier de Scouua't.

doit et por quelle chose il estoit la venuz Et il respondi Je suis Henry de Lenclastre duc Daruorde ⁊ suis cy venuz pour faire mon deuoir pour cōbatre a Thomas Mo?bray duc de Noruolt cōme faulx traistre ⁊ desloyal encontre Dieu le Roy son royaume et de moy Et apres le connestable ⁊ le mareschal lui firēt jurer, ⁊ quāt il ot jure on lui demāda sil voulloit entrer sur ce point Et il respondi que oil et mist son escu a point le quel fu dargent a une croix rouge[1] pareille aux armes Saint George ⁊ ferma la visiere de son hayaume,[2] et se seigna et fist une belle croix de sa main aussi legieremēt cōme sil neust point este arme, et demāda sa lance et on lui ouray la barriere et cheuaucha dedens les lices droit deuant sa chaiere laquelle fu couuerte de rouges fleurs[3] et descendi de dessus son coursier et entra es courtines de sa chaiere en attendant son ennemy en la bataille gen?almēt[4] comme il appartenoit a tel jour. The Tournament.

Item il est verite que le Roy Richart arriua aux lices en sa compaignie tous les royaulx Dengleterre et larceuesque de Cantorbye appelle Waldern,[5] et le conte de Saint Pol lequel fu la enuoye de France[6] a grant haste, le Roy auoit bien xx^m archiers ⁊ gens darmes a grant foison Et aussi tost q̃ le Roy fu arriue ⁊ monte sur son escharfaut[7] lequel fut moult richemēt pare cōme il appartenoit, le Roy des heraulx monta sur lun des corons[8] des lices ⁊ crya de par le Roy iij foiz oez oez oez Apres Sire Jehan Boissy[9] vint a tout un roule en sa main ⁊ dist Arrival of the King, the Archbp. of Canterbury, and the Count of St. Pol. The Speaker of the Commons.

[1] *MS. Y*, vermoille; *MS. O*, une croiz dor aux armes Saint George.

[2] *MS. Y*, bacinet; *MS. Gaignières*, bassinet.

[3] *MS. O*, de longes fleurs; *MS. Y*, de vermeil veluat.

[4] *MS. Y*, gentillement.

[5] *MSS. O* and *Y* omit the name of the archbishop; *MS. Lebaud*, Cantorbir'.

[6] *MS. Y*, de par le Roy de France ñre ss^r.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, eschaffault.

[8] *MS. O*, des chevrons; *MS. 10212*,[3b], ung des coings; *MS. Gaignières*, sur coulis des lisses.

[9] *MS. O*, et sire Jehan de

The Tournament.

les mos Et un [1] herault crya on vous cōmãde de par le Roy depar le cōnestable ⁊ de par le mareschal que nulle psonne poure ou riche ne fust si hardie de mectre la main sur les lices sur paine dauoir la main copee ne que nul nentrast dedens les lices sur paine destre traisne ⁊ pendu sauue ceulx qui y seront ordonnez de par le Roy de par le Conseil de par le connestable ⁊ de par le mareschal sur paine destre traisne ⁊ pendu Et crya de par le Roy Oez vecy Henry de Lenclastre duc Daruorde appellant lequel est venu es lices poʳ faire son deuoir contre Thomas Moſbray duc de Noruolt deffend quil viegne en la lice faire son deuoir sur paine destre faulx [2] ⁊ le crya le herault iij fois a cl̃iun coron [3] des lices ⁊ le duc de Noruolt se tint deuant la barriere des lices tant que le cry fu fait Et sen alerent le cōnestable ⁊ le mareschal a lencontre de luy ⁊ lui firēt jurer et quant il ot jure on lui ouury la barriere ⁊ il entra es lices ⁊ dist Dieux aide au droit [4] Et quant il fu dedens il descendi deuant sa chaiere ⁊ pendi son escu alarcon de sa scelle [5] Et apres le cōnestable et le mareschal firent aporter les lances des seigneurs et les mesuraon pour veoir se elles estoyent dune longueur Et le duc de Sudrien raporta la lance au duc Daruorde Et un autre cheualier porta la lance au duc de Noruolt ⁊ le herault crya de par le Roy de par le cōnestable ⁊ de par le mareschal que on ostat les paueil-

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Boessy comēcza a lire ung rolle lequl̃ cōtenoit cōmē on cōmande tonz de par le Roy; *MS. V*, Apres sire Jehan de Boysy vint a tout ung rolle en sa main et prononcza au herault les motz et si les cria en ceste maniere.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, le herault cria.

[2] *MS. O*, Et auxi fut crie cōme le duc de Noruolt vensist sur paine destre repute pour faulx; *MS. Le Beau*, sur peine d'estre enconlpé à l'amise dont il est enconlpé, c'est de trahison.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, corinet.

[4] *MS. V*, Dieu aide a celui qui a droit; *MS. Le Beau*, Beaux sire Deux, veuillez aider au droit.

[5] *MS. V*, a larczon de la celle de son cheual.

lons des chaieres des champions[1] et que on laissaist aler les coursiers ⁊ que chascun feist son deuoir Et[2] quant le duc Daruorde ot ꝑuuer sa lance il mist son escu a point[3] et le seigna de sa main faisant une croix ⁊ mist sa lance sur sa cuisse la pointe deuꝰs son ennemy ⁊ ala bien vij ou viij pas auāt pour faire son deuoir ⁊ le duc de Noruolt ne se bouga ne ne fist semblant de soy deffendre Adonc le Roy se dreca[4] ⁊ crya ho ho et comāda que on ostast la lance du duc Daruorde et que on feist cĥun retraire deuꝰs la place, la furent ilz armez bien pres de deux heures depuis que on ot deffendu le cōbatre[5] Adonc le herault de Bretaigne mōta sur les lices on couron[6] ou il auoit cōmēce le cry ⁊ crya de par le Roy Oez Et sire Jehan Boissy vint a tout un grant rolle escript le quel il tenoit en sa main et auoit bien une grāt toise de long ⁊ crya Oez[7] entre vous meſſ̄rs Je vous faiz sauoir de par le Roy de par le conseil de par le cōnestable ⁊ de par le mareschal que Henry de Lenclastre duc Daruorde appellant ⁊ Thomas Moꝰbray deffend touz deux sont venus vaillāmēt ⁊ a chascun este ⁊ est tout ꝓst de faire son deuoir cōme deux hardiz cheuaīrs douient faire pour ce que les choses sont si grandes entre ces deux seigneurs[8]

The King stops the battle.

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[1] *MS. Le Beau*, la parure des chayères des champions.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, instead of this sentence, reads thus: 'Et qñt le duc Dauorde ot sa lance sur sa cuisse, la point deuers son ennemy et ala bñ vij. ou viij. pas auant pour faire son deuoir, et le duc de Noruolt ne se bouga ne ne fist aucun semblant de lui defendre; *MS.* 10212,[3b], follows our text.

[3] *MS. V*, et ferma sa visiere et son heaume.

[4] *MS. V*, se leua; *MSS. Le Beau* and 10212,[3b], se dressa et dist, Hola; *MS. O*, se drecza; *MS. Lebaud*, se dreca.

[5] *MS. V*, de puis que on dist, ho.

[6] *MS. O*, au cheuron.

[7] *MS. O*, ouez oez oez; *MS. Lebaud*, et cria or, oez.

[8] *MS. Le Beau*, mais pour ce que leur emprise est si grande que moult regarde à la royalle magesté, et que se la chose estoit vrayement congneue, il conveuroit que l'ung eust mort desservie, ou tous deux; pour ce est le jugement tel, &c.

The sentence of the King and Council.

C'est le jugemēt du Roy ⁊ de son conseil que Henry de Lenclastre doit vuidier[1] le royaume le terme de x ans Et se il reuient au pais ancoys que les x ans soient passez, il sera pendu et ara la teste copee, Et[2] quant le cry fu fait les gens eurēt grant merueille que le duc Daruorde fu bāny pour ce quil se monstra si gaillart pour faire son deuoir, ⁊ faisoient les gens si grant noise que on ne pouait oir Car chascū cuidoit quil eust ꝑdu son hōneur Apres le herault crya de par le Roy Et adonc cōmēcerent les gens a taire,[3] Oez le jugemēt du Roy ⁊ du cōseil Il est ainsi que Thomas Moſbray duc de Noruolt sera banny du royaume a tousioursmays Et cōmāda le Roy que Thomas de Moſbray deuisast[4] ou il vouldroit demourer ou en Pruce ou en Bahaigne ou en Hongrye, ou quil alast droicte voye oultre mer en la terre des Sarrazins mescreans,[5] et quil ne retournast jamaiz ⁊ sans mettre le pie sur la terre des Crestiens,[6] et que toute sa terre demourroit arrestee[7] tant que la dicte sōme fust paiee du grant auoir[8] il auoit receu pour paier la garnison de Calaiz le quel il nauoit poīt fait ⁊ quil auroit x^{m} nobles par an,[9] Apres ce que le cry fu fait le connestable ⁊ le mareschal amenerēt les deux seigneurs baniz droit deuāt[10] la tente du Roy, et cōmāda le Roy a eulx deux ⁊ deffēd que nulz deulx ne venist[11] jamaiz en compaignie ou ils peussēt trouuer[12] lun

[1] *MS. O*, sera banny; *MS.* 10212,[3b], doit partir du.

[2] This sentence is wanting in the *MS. Le Beau*, to 'son hōneur.'

[3] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'Et adonc cōmēcerent les gens a taire.

[4] deuiser. See *Glossary*.

[5] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'mescreans.'

[6] *MS.* 10212,[3b], sur les X'tiens; *MS. Y*, pour mectre.

[7] *MS. Le Beau*, en arrier.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, t'sor.

[9] *MS. Le Beau*, deux mille nobles par an. He is not supported in this reading by any other MS.

[10] *MS. Y*, les degrez de la tente du Roy.

[11] *MS. Le Beau*, ne s'embatist.

[12] *MS. O*, ou ilz cuidassent trouuer.

lautre nen boire nen mengier sur paine de perdre tous leurs biens [1] Ainsi cõme le Roy cõmãda jurerent tous les deux seigneurs a tenir le cõmãdemẽt du Roy Et apres ilz mõterẽt tous deux a cheual ⁊ se partirent aussi tost hors des lices lun cõme lautre Et dist le duc de Noruolt au partir des lices a ses gens Il vault mieulx ainsi que se nous fussions alez au grãt parlemẽt a Estrembory Car se lui ⁊ moy y fussions alez nous eussions este mis a mort aussi bien cõme le conte Darondel ⁊ [2] lendemain ala le Roy Richart ⁊ le conte de Saint Pol auec lui a Nonnetes au giste [3] Et le duc de Sudrien ala bien a xx^{m} gens darmes en Yrlande faire guerre pour le Roy ⁊ Au M?credy arriua le Roy a Excestre ⁊ [4] la prindrent les deux seigneurs baniz congie pour eulx en aler ⁊ Apres il arriua a Windeshore [5] ⁊ la prindrent congie du tout en tout ⁊ aussi a la Royne pour eulx en aler Et cellui jour maistre Boschet [6] euesque Daast en Gascoingne ⁊ legat du Pape donna a la Royne un papegay ⁊ [7] ⁊ dõna a chascũ des seigneurs unes lr̃es bullees de plomb de par le pape ⁊ lesquelz seigneurs baniz a tant se partirẽt ⁊ alerent hors du royaume [8] Et le Roy sappareilla pour aler guerreer en Yrlande [9] . . . . .

The Duke of Surrey and 20,000 men sent to Ireland.

Arrival of the Pope's Legate.

[1] *MS. O*, leur vies.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Gaignières* add, 'et pour ce vault mieux;' *MS. Y*, pour ce vault il mieulx ainzie pire.

[3] *MS. Y*, a Noriectes au giste.

[4] *MS. Y*, ariua le duc Dexestre. Evidently an error.

[5] *MS. Le Beau* omits this sentence and the following, only substituting 'En ce jour mesmes vint en Gascongne l'évesque d'Ast légat du Pape.'

[6] *MS. Lebaud* and *Gaignières*, Maist' p're de Boschet; *MS. Y*, mestre pierre de Bosche.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, un papegaut.

[8] *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'En quel pays le conte de Norvolth, je ne scay point; mais le duc d'Arvordre n'alla plus loin qu'en France, et là se tint jusques à ce que le bon duc de Lancastre son père fut trespassé, à qui Dieu pardoint, car ce fut grant dommage; car s'il eût vesqui, jà ne fût si tost mort le Roi Richart ainsi qu'il fust, ne les autres barons et seigneurs aussi.'

[9] *MS. Y* adds, 'dont grant meschief lui en est venu par mauuaises gens.'

The Duke of York appointed Viceroy.

IL est verite que le Roy Richart se party Denglet̃re ⸝ ⁊ quil laissa son oncle le duc de Yorc en Engleterre ⸝ ⁊ le fist le Roy jurer a estre bon ⁊ loyal enuers luy ⁊ le fist son lieutenant Et cõmãda par tout le royaume Denglet̃re que on feist a son oncle cõme a sa propre personne ⸝ Et aussi fist il comãder que on tenist le marquis Dexcestre[1] pour admiral de la mer ⸝ Et laissa sire Guill̃e Scroup pour tresorier ⸝ et sire Thomas Boissy ⸝[2] sire Thomas Grene ⸝[3] ⁊ sire Guill̃e Bagod[4] ces quatre cheualr̃s furẽt souuerains conseilliers Denglet̃re[5] Apres q̃ le bon Jehan de Gand le feu duc de Lenclastre[6] fu trespasse et enterre ⸝ le Roy print congie a la noble Royne Denglet̃re a Windeshore ⸝[7] et cõmanda le Roy ⁊ pria a son oncle le duc de Yorc ⁊ a sire Guill̃e Scroup quilz preissent bien garde de la Royne ⸝ ⁊ quelle neust point de deffault ne ses gens ⁊ cõmanda le Roy a un phisicien nõme maistre Pol quil preist garde de la Royne cõme de son propre corps ⸝ Et cõmanda a sire Ph̃e la Vache chãbellain de la Royne que maistre Pol phisicien ⁊ le confesseur fussent souuerains gardiens de la Royne ⸝ et appella le Roy le confesseur ⸝ sire Ph̃e la Vache ⁊ maistre Pol quilz venissent parler a lui en sa chapelle Et leur demãda ⁊ pria le Roy quilz deissent la verite de ce quil leur demãderoit ⸝ Et le Roy leur demãda par leur seremẽt quilz deissent la verite ⸝ Se la dame

Appointment of four Lords Commissioners.

Death of John of Gand.

Appointment of the Queen's household.

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1 *MS. O*, Dorcestre ; *MS. Le Beau*, d'Orcestre ; *MS. V*, Dorzertec.

2 *MS. Lebaud*, sire Jeh' Boiss' ; so *MS. Gaignières* ; *MSS. O* and *V*, sire Jehan Boessi and Boysi ; *MS.* 10212,[3 b], sire Thomas.

3 *MS. Le Beau*, sire Thomas Grève.

4 *MS.* 10212,[3 b], sire Thomas Bagal.

5 *MS. Lebaud*, souuerains seigneurs et conselleurs en Anglet're.

6 *MS. Le Beau*, qui avoit esté une espasse de temps malade.

7 *MS. Lebaud*, Windesore.

de Courcy [1] estoit assez bonne gētilz et saige pour estre garde ⁊ maitresse dune telle dame cōme madame la Royne Dengleterre ma fēme et vous auisez bien entre vous trois que vous men conseilleiez Adonc respondirēt sire Phe la Vache ⁊ maistre Pol Tres chr sire cy est monſ le confesseur qui cognoist mieulx les dames de par della la mer [2] que nous laissiez lui dire le qui lui semble bon Et le Roy le charga quil deist en sa conscience la verite ⁊ le confesseur crya mercy au Roy ⁊ lui pria quil le feist dire a sire Phelippe la Vache ou a maistre Pol car la dame lui en pourroit porter maltalent [3] Et adonc le Roy cōmanda a leurs cōsciences quilz deissent selle estoit ꝓouffitable ou noin pour estre maistresse de la Royne Et le confesseur respondi que non [4] en ma conscience elle nest pas saige assez pour estre maistresse de telle dame [5] cōme la Royne Dengle re Adonc le Roy cōmāda a sire Phe la Vache ⁊ a maistre Pol quilz deissent leurs responses. Et sire Phelippe la Vache dist au Roy Tres chr ſ la dame de Coucy elle ne me semble pas assez hōnourable pour estre maistresse de telle dame ne den auoir le gouuernemēt Et maistre Pol dist le pareil en disant au Roy raison pour quoy. La maistresse tient plus grant estat tant pour tant que ne fait la Royne. Car elle a de liuree de par vous pour xviij cheuaulx sans la liuroison [6] de son mary quant il va

Extravagance of Lady de Coucy.

[1] *MS. Y*, de Coussy; so *MS.* 10212, [3b].

[2] *MS. Y*, 'qui a plus grant cognoissance de la mer;' evidently a clerical error; *MS. Le Beau*, qui mieulx connoissent la dame de par delà la mer que nous ne fesons; *MS.* 7221 [3, 3a] reads, 'de la la mer a la dame que nous.' These two MSS. appear to have been copied from the same original MS., and both in the Low Countries.

[3] *MS. Y*, mautalent. This word, mawtalent, was introduced in the English language, and is found in the Chroniclers of this period.

[4] *MS. Y*, que nanil.

[5] *MS. Y*, de si grāt dame cōe madame la Roine Dangleterre.

[6] *MS. Le Beau*, la délivrance.

ou vient, ⁊ aussi tient elle deux ou trois orfeures[1] ⁊ vj ou viij ouuriers de broderie et deux ou trois taillendiers[2] et deux ou trois pelletiers[3] aussi bien cõme vous ou la Royne Et assi a elle faite un chappel qui cousta xiiij^{c} nobles Adonc dist sire Phe la Vache et le confesseur Selle fust demouree en France elle sen fust bien gardee[4] Adonc le Roy fist venir sire Guiffe Scroup[5] tresorier Dengletre ⁊ cõmãda le Roy a eulx Sauez vous que vo^{s} ferez quant je seray party pour aller en Yrlande et que vous arez[6] lectres de moy Si paiez ou faictez paier toutes les debtes de par moy que la dame de Coucy ou ses gens doiuent en nostre royaume Et lui dõnez or ⁊ argent assez[7] ⁊ tant cõme elle en pourra despendre decy a Paris, et nauire et passaige de par moy, et enuoyez querir la dame de Mortemer et lordonnez a estre grant maistresse[8] de la Royne en lonneur de moy, Apres celle ordonnãce le Roy Richart et la Royne Dengletre alerent ensemble maon a maon du chastel en la basse court et de la en la chanoinerie de Saint George ou les chanoines apporterent le mantel Saint George au Roy et le Roy le mist entour ses espaulles ainsi cõme est la coustume du pais[9] et entra en leglise et chanterẽt les chanoines mout gracieusemẽt et le Roy chanta mesmes une collecte et apres il fist son offrendre ⁊ print la Royne entre ses bras tres gracieusemẽt ⁊ la baisa plus de xl foiz en disant piteusemẽt Adieu Madame jusques au reueoir Je me recõmãde a vous

Lady de Coucy dismissed, and Lady Mortemer appointed governess.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, cousturiers.

[2] *MS. Y*, tailleurs parmentiers. (Parmentier, tailleur qui fait et garnit les habits.)

[3] *MS. O*, pannetiers. (An officer in the household of the dukes of Burgundy.)

[4] *MS. Le Beau* omits this sentence.

[5] *MS. Le Beau*, Pierre Guillaume sire Skroup.

[6] *MS. Y*, que vous orrez lectres de moy.

[7] *MS. Le Beau*, pour s'en raller en France.

[8] *MS. O*, gouuernesse.

[9] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'et de la confrerie St. George.'

ce dist le Roy a la Royne en la ꝑnce de toutes les gens et la Royne cōmenca adonc aplourer disant au Roy, helas monſ me laissiez vous icy [1] Adonc le Roy ot les yeulx plains de larmes sur le point de plourer ⁊ dist nennil Madame maiz Je iray deuāt vous Madame y vendrez apres Adonc le Roy ⁊ la Royne prindrent vin ⁊ espices ensemble droit a luis [2] de leglise ⁊ cĥun q̃ en voulloit prendre [3] Et apres le Roy se baissa ⁊ ꝑnt ⁊ leua de ẽre la Royne ⁊ la tint bien longuemēt entre ses bras ⁊ la baisa bien x foiz disant tousdiz Adieu Madame jusques au reveoir [4] Et puis la mist a ẽre et la baisa encores iij foiz Et par nr̃e Dame Je ne vy oncques [5] si grāt seigneur faire si grāt feste ne mōstier si grāt amour a une dame cōe fist le Roy Richart a la Royne Cestoit grāt pitie de leur departie car oncques puis ne virēt lū lautre Apres le Roy baisa toutes les dames [6] ⁊ puis mōta a cheual.

Parting interview of the King and Queen.

La beissieſ maiñt cĥir partiñ, ⁊ trompetes sonneñ, et de toute pais gens darmes surveniñ ⁊ archſ pour ſuir le noble Roy Richart q̃ fut soigneux de chauſcher maiñ ⁊ soir jusques a tant quil arriua a Milleforde, ou les pouoit veoir maiñt bel port, et moult de belles nefz Adonc rescript le Roy a la Royne unes lr̃es moult doulcemēt en se recōmandant a lui moult de foiz Car elle estoit demouree malade du depteñt de son seignſ, Et si manda le Roy au duc Dyork quil donnast congie a la dame de Coucy cōme il avoit ordonne pauāt Et puis fist le Roy faire ses monstres de

Alinéa from MS. No. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi, or MS. Lebaud.

The King arrives at Milford Haven.

[1] *MS. Le Beau,* me lairrez vous ainsi? Et quant vous reverrai-je?

[2] luis, l'huys, house, primarily gate, *ostium;* still shutter, in Brittany. The barbarous Gauls appear to have caught the first syllable only of very many Latin words.

[3] *MS. Lebaud,* et cy prenoit ch'un qui vouloit.

[4] *MS. Le Beau,* Adieu ma doulce dame, jusques au revoir, priez pour moi.

[5] *MS. Le Beau,* Je n'oy recorder oncques de seigneur.

[6] *MS. Le Beau,* et après aux chanoines.

Alinéa from MS. No. 10212 ³, Bibl. du Roi, or MS. Lebaud.

gens darmes, et darchirs ⁊ ses autres ordonnances de vitoalles ⁊ garnisons pour le passage et cōmanda le Roy de jour en jour a auancier le passage Car il auoit si grant desir de passer la mer on pais de Ymbnie la grant la ou ses ennemis sont lesqlx lui ont fait mᵗ de desplaiser et de grans dōmaiges et aux seignirs ⁊ peuple du royaume Dangleᵗre Car on pais Dimbnie et Dirlande a ij genſacons, et deux langaiges les uns parlent Englois bastardeīt lesqlx demeurent en bonnes villes cites chasteaulx ⁊ forteſſes estans on dit pais et es ports de marines, et sont tousiours amis de Roy Richart, les autres sont une manieſ de gens sauuaige qui parlent estrainge lāgaige et sont appelez Crichemons, lesqlx nont ville maison chastel ne demeure, et sont tousiours par les bois ⁊ par les montaignes, du pais, et si y a pluſs Roys enſ eulx de quoy les plus puissant vont nuz piez et sans brayes, et ont chaulx sans selle, Et le plus souuerain Roy est appelle Maquemore, lequel se dit Roy et seignr Dirlande et Dimbnie qui est ts fort guerroier, et pouoie [? pour lors] faisoit le Roy Richart haster de faire passer son vūaige pour ꝑndre veingence de ses ennemis mortelz, mais il lui conuient bñ demourer x jours deuant le nord pour attendre le vent, puis monta le Roy sur mer et tout son ost adonc fist on trompetes sonner, et cōmanda le Roy q̃ on donnast voiles on nom de Dieu, et de Saint George, et vint si bon temps que auant deux jours le Roy et ses gens virent la tour de Watreforde, Et q̃nt la cōmun gent appceurēt le nauire qui venoit au port ilz yssirent tous grans ⁊ petiz pour receuoir le Roy a grant honneur, Car ilz auoiēt grant desir de sa venue Adonc descendi le Roy a tre et sa gent Ci furēt ilz vj jours enteſ pour faire leurs ordonnances, et le vijᵉ jour chauſcha le Roy ⁊ son ost a belle compaignie de

The warlike Macmore.

The King sets sail from Milford Haven, 29th May 1399.

gens darmes ⁊ darchers En celle ordonnance passa bñ iiij^{xx} mill du pais la fut il pre de ses ennemis, et y seiourna xiiij jours pour faire ɛtain ordonnances en attendant le conte de Rotheland qui Dalbion deuoit venir a grāt secours, Adonc fut fait cōmandemt de ꝑ le Roy et de ꝑ le connestable q̃ chun se pourueust de vitailles, et landemain vegille de Saint Jehan deste ſs bñ matin et alerent tant le droit chemin vers Maquemore qui ne voulz estre obeissant au Roy, ains disoit quil lui feroit guerre jusques a la mort, Car il se dit Roy seigñr Dirlande ⁊ Dimbnie. Et q̃nt le Roy ot oy son entencōn il fist chauſcher son ost par le desert pais pour trouuer et querre Maquemore ⁊ sa gent qui sont tousiours en bois en roches en montaignes et y en auoit auecq̃s lui bñ quatre mille sauuaiges gens freiz cōme lions et Danglois nauoient nul paour si cōme on disoit A lentree des haulx bois sassembla tout lost du Roy Richart, et chun se ordonna, car pour lors on cuida auoir bataille mais les Irlois ne vindrēt point hors du bois lors cōmanda le Roy que on ardist le pais tout enuiron, et furēt rangez ses gens et desploier banieres pennons et estandars, et la furēt faïz pluseurs chirs et escuiers, et tantost arriua plus de x^{m} v^{c} gens de cōmun du pais q̃ le Roy auoit mande pour abatre les bois deuant lost Car il ny auoit nulz chemins, et oncq̃s mais ny auoit passe ost tant feust hardy, Car les bois sont pilleur en pluseurs lieux, et y affondront gens ⁊ chaulx, pour ce ilz font les gens Maquemore leur demeure et retrait q̃ on ne les puet ꝑndre, ainsi passa le Roy Richart ⁊ ses gens les diz bois en ordonnance de bataille rengee Et il est vray q̃ les gens Maquemoire gectoient grañ criz ⁊ grans braiz et nosoient attendre bataille, Car ilz doubtoient mlt forment le trait Et venoient aucunes assaillir lauāt garde ⁊ larriere garde gect-

Alinéa from MS. No. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi, or MS. Lebaud.

The King orders the woods to be set on fire.

Alinéa from MS. No. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi, or MS. Lebaud.

ant dardes ⁊ et puis fuioient cõme chiens ⁊ ainsi passa le Roy ⁊ son ost ꝑ les bois jusques a une plaine ⁊ Adonc vint loncle Maquemore se rendre au Roy aincy ⁊ la chart au col teñ une espee nue ⁊ et dautres y auoit grant foison vestuz de sa liuree nuz piez cõme gens diffamez. Car ilz auoient grant paour de mort Quant le Roy les vit venir criant m̃cy adonc ot pascience et leur dist ⁊ Amis les maulx q̃ vous auez vers moy faiz ⁊ le tort Je le vous pardonne ⁊ mais vous me serez ſuiteurs cõme bons et loyaulx amis enu̅s moy et ſez desormais obeissans enu̅s nous ⁊ et ce fait fut mande a Maquemore qui se disoit Roy du pais quil voulsist enuers lui venir ainsi cõme auoit fait son oncle ⁊ et que tout quanques il lui auoit meffait il lui pardonneroit ⁊ et lui donneroit villes chasteaulx pour demourer ailleurs q̃ la Adonc r̃ndi le Roy Maquemore es gens du Roy Richart q̃ jamais au Roy nobeiroit ains lui fera guerre toute sa vie ⁊ a bon droit Car il sauoit bñ q̃ lost du Roy eſt̃ tout affame. Car on ne trouuoit rens on dit pais pour achaster fors un peu dauoine pour les cheaulx qui estoient tous morfonduz ⁊ gastes de logier dehors ⁊ et de la famine quilz auoient eue ⁊ la souffrois Anglois moult de mal et ne pouuoiẽt de Maquemore venir a chief Et q̃nt le Roy ot oy la r̃nse que Maquemore ot fait a ses gens la ny ot es bastemens ne ris ⁊ la eſt̃ dueil pour joye Car lost ne pouoit plus la demourer pour la famine Et ce pendant un pou apres arriua iij nefz charg̃ de vitailles pour lost aidier et reconfor̃ et arriverent bñ pres dileuc a un port et celle jourñ ⁊ landemain furent les viures tous venduz et departiz de par le Roy et lendemain au matin se partit le Roy et son ost teñ le droit chemin vers ses ennemis quant Maquemore senti le Roy aprouchr si enuoia a lui pler ꝑ ung hõme qui bñ sauoit le lengaige en disant quil

Maemore defies Richard.

vouloit est son ami, et lui crier mcy et q̃ vers lui vueille enuoier aucun seigñr qui soit ctains por atargꝫ la mortelle guerre et faire paix De ces nouuelles fut chun preux pour la grant famine et travail quilz auoiēt eu t souffert ou desert pais Et q̃nt le Roy oy le messaige de Maquemore si ctament parler, lors appelle son gseil Lequel demanda qui estoit le plus souffisant et voulroit aler parler a Maquemore Adonc le duc de Glocest cappine de larriet garde dist q̃ ts voulente iroit donc le Roy fut mlt content et le conseil, et cōmanda le Roy au duc quil demonstrast a Maquemore les ts grans faulces t oultraiges quil auoit fait encont lui, et quil aduisast bñ son ordonnañ et son estat Adonc se parti le duc de Glocest et mena ijc lances auec lui et mil archrs Et quant le conte arriua en une place ent deux bois emps la mer q̃nt Maq̃more appceust le conte a ses gens si cōmenca a deualer dune grant montaigne ou il estoit, et auoit auec lui grant quantite Dirlandois, et chauchoit Maquemore deuant sa gent si ts grant erre cont val la montaigne cōme un coursier en plaine Car il est bñ monte sur ung bon chal qui nauoit selle ne arcon, Et lui auoit couste se disoit on iiijc vaches tant est bon Car ou dit pais marchandent toutz choses a bestiail de lun a laut car ou pais a pou dargꝫ Et q̃nt Maquemore arriua a la plaine bñ pres dun rusel, lors fist ses gens retraire deuts les bois cōme une eschaugette, daut pt fist le conte retraire ses gens, la assemblerent les deux seigñs faisant grant chre lun a laut a la guise du pais, Maquemore se contenoit moult frerem̃t, en sa main tenoit une darde, graint hōme estoit et de assez beau semblant, pmiēt parla le conte de Glocest a Maquemore en lui demonstrant les forfaiz et les grans oultraiges quil auoit fait par plusieurs foiz encont le Roy Richart espālment quil auoit fait

Alīnéa from MS. No. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi, or MS. Lebaud.

Interview of the *Earl* of Gloucester with Macmore. (See note in Translation.)

Alinéa from MS. No. 10212 3, *Bibl. du Roi, or MS. Lebaud.*

mourir ⁊ a grāt tort ⁊ sans jugemᵐt le bon conte de la Marche qui estoit du sang royal Dangleſtre ⁊ dautres choses plerent ensemble, mais accorder ne porent ne faire paix La prindrēt congie lun de lauᵗ, Cℏun retourna a sa gent Le conte sen ala deuers le Roy et lui compta cōment Maquemore ne se voult acorder se non quil soit ctain dauoir paix legieremᵐt et son pais tenir ⁊ garder sans esᵗ point empsonne, ne auᵗment ne fera il point paix jour de sa vie, et quil aura son bon si lenuie, Adonc fut le Roy moult courroucie et jura p Saint George ⁊ Saint Edouart q̃ jamais ne partiroit du pais Dimbernie jusques a tant quil auroit mort ou vif, helas Il ne sauoit pas la grant trayson que lui venoit de jour en jour La ne pouoit plus seiourner pour la famine qui fut si grande qui nauoient plus q̃ mengier Adonc se parti le Roi et son ost teñ le droit chemin a Diuelune qui est une des bonnes citez du pais a un port de mer et bñ marchande, la trouuᵗent assez vitaille, et ilz furent refreschez et secourriez, Adonc fist le Roy ordonnañ in pᵗ de sa gent car il ne pot oublier Maquemore maiz cent mars dor fist ordonner a cellui qui' le ꝑndroit, et sil plaisoit a Dieu il yroit mais q̃ le tēps feust venuz q̃ les arbres ſont desuestuz et nuz des fualles et adonc feroit ardre les bois tout deuant lui pour le trouuer Et a ce jour la propremᵐt arriua le connestable dit conte de Rotheland ⁊ cent barges armees ⁊ bñ garnies pour leur secours de quoy le Roy fut moult preux, car il lamoit pfautement plus q̃ nul seigñr de son royaume Et lui demanda le Roy Connestable ou auez vous tant demoure Lequel se excusa moult haultemᵐt deuant tous les seigñrs La demoura le Roy vij sepmaiñ passees sans se quil peust oir nulles nouuelles Dangleterre Car il estoit grant fortune sur mer et vent contraire quil nest barge ne nef qui sur la mer peust durer Et moult

Ils fruitless result.

The King conducts his army to Dublin,

and sets a price on the head of Macmore.

Arrival of the Duke of Aumarle.

se mueillerent ses gens celle part de veoir si mueilleuse fortune si tāt longuem̃t durer Et pour ce ne pouoit on auoir ne oir nouuelles Dalbion helas ilz y estoient moult contraires pour le noble Roy Richart.

End of Alinéa from MS. Lebaud.

ITEM Il est vray que quāt le Roy fu party la Royne demoura malade de douleur xv jours ou plus Et quāt elle fu garie elle ala a Waulincforde[1] par le conseil du duc de Yorc ꝛ des auꝛs seigneurs Et donna on congie a la dame de Courcy ainsi cōme le Roy auoit ordōne Item lan mil ccc iiij^{xx} ꝛ xix on moys Daoust vint le duc de Lenclastre[2] ꝛ arriua deuꝛs le nord coste Dengleꝛre ꝛ auoit viij petites nefs ꝛ ij passagiers ꝛ enuoya un petit batel a terre ꝛ le laissa tout seul[3] ꝛ les gens sen retournerēt deuꝛs lui Un hōme pescheur vint courant a la baniere car il auoit grāt merueille pour ce que celle baniere estoit la plantee[4] car il ne se cognoissoit point au fait maiz il vist les nefz[5] Et le duc fist dire a lomme quil feist sauoir aux gens de la ville sa venue Adonc lōme ala cryant aual la ville nr̃e ꝼ le duc de Lenclastre est venuz pour son droit heritaige Adonc se assemblerent la bien viij^{m} hōmes de son pais lesquelz crierent tout a une voiz quil venist a ꝛre hardiemēt prendre son droit heritaige et dirent que ilz le voul-

On Richard's departure, the Queen removes to Wallingford.

Arrival in England of Henry of Lancaster.

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[1] *MS. O*, a Windezore. This reading is not supported by any other MS. In *MS. Y* a blank is left; so also in *MS.* 2724, ^{33a}; *MS.* 10506, a Valenford.

[2] *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'le duc Henry de Lancastre sceut que le Roi Richard estoit hors du royaume.' Afterwards his narrative is much abridged.

[3] *MS. O* reads, 'et enuoiea ung petit batel a t're auecques certaines gēs pour ficher sa bañiere a t're et puix sen reuindrent deuers luy;' *MS.* 10212, ^{3b}, et enuoya ung petit bastelet a terre sur la greue de la mer.

[4] *MS. O*, a cause de quoy elle estoit la fichee.

[5] *MS. O*, en la mer.

loient receuoir cõme leur droit seigneur Adonc le duc vint a ſre ⁊ ala gisir[1] on chastel de Poursoy ⁊ la vindrẽt tous les gens de la nord contre pour lui ſuir Et est verite que le conte de Northombelland[2] ⁊ le conte de Waschõberland[3] ⁊ sire Henry de Persy vindrent tous trois ensemble deuſs le duc pour eulx excuser que ce nestoit point leur conseil quil auoit este bany pour le tẽps quil deuoit auoir cõbatre contre le duc de Noruolt ⁊ quilz estoyent tous prest de lui ſuir a tout xx^{m} archiers pour lui aidier ⁊ remectre en son droit heritaige Et le duc respondi Je vous en remercie Et est verite que le duc auoit auecq̃s lui Thomas Darondel arceuesque de Cantorbye ⁊ le jeune conte Darondel[4] Il est verite[5] que aussy tost quil vint a la congnoissãce[6] meſſe Guille Scroup enuoya le plus tost quil pot deuſs le Roy Richart en Yrlande pour lui faire assauoir la venue du duc de Lenclastre Et tantost que le Roy Richar scot les nouuelles il se ordonna ⁊ lui ⁊ son ost pour sen[7] reuenir en Engleterre Et entredeux

Henry is joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland and Sir H. Percy.

The Earl of Wiltshire acquaints Richard of the arrival of Henry.

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[1] *MSS. O* and *Y*, gesir au chastel de Pontfray.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Y*, Northombellant.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Wastombelland; *MS. Ambass.* Wascombelland and Warthonbelland; *MS.* 10212, [3b], Chastermballande; *Latin Chronicles of the Monk of St. Denys*, Wastomberlant; *MS. Y*, Wasliõberbault.

[4] *MS. Y*, et son nepveu le jeune conte Darondel fils du conte mort.

[5] The following chapter, giving the account of Henry's letters, and ending 'ne neust pas este si hardy daler a Londres,' is only found in the following MSS.: *MS.* 10212, [3]; *Bibl. du Roy*, or *MS. Lebaud*; *MS.* 10212, [3b]; the *MS. Ambass.*; and, according to Mr. Allen, *MS. No.* 635, but which I very much doubt, as the MS. consisted only of thirty-eight folios. It is not now known at the Bibl. du Roi.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, a la congnoissance de messire Guillaume Scrop que le duc de Lencastre estoit arriuez en Angleterre icellui messire Guillaume enuoia le plus tost; *MS. Ambass.* reads, 'verité est que tantost qu'il vint à la cognoissance de messire Guillaume Skroup que le duc de Lancastre estoit arrivé en Angleterre, icelluy messire Guillaume envoya le plus fort quil peust,' etc.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, pour retourner en Angleterre Et durant ce que le dit duc estoit on dit chastel.

tantost que le duc de Lenclastre estoit en son chastel de Poursoy[1] il enuoya bien en diuſses villes ⁊ en diuers chasteaulx a prelaz, a seigneurs, ⁊ a cōmunes cent ⁊ cinquāte paires de lr̃es par diuſs messaiges faulsemēt cōtrouuees contre le Roy Richart ⁊ son gouuernemēt, Et disoiēt celles qui vindrent a la cōmūe de Londres que le Roy Richart auoit tant fait secretemēt que il auoit[2] pluſs grās seigneurs tant de France cōme Dalamaigne de Bretaigne dauſs diuers royaumes que par laide des diz aliez il seignorreroit et domineroit plus grādemēt ⁊ pluis puissam̃t on royaume Dengletᵉre que ne fist oncques nulz de ses p̄decesseurs Roys Et quil tendroit les villains Dengletᵉre en plus grāt subiecc̃on et en plus grāt ſuitude que ne fist oncques nul Roy crestien ses subgez Et auecq̃s cela contenoyēt q̃ tous les escheuins qui auoyent[3] depuis quil fu courōne des bonnes villes Dēgletᵉre[4] qui aroient soustenu les oppinions des cōmūes cōtre lui ⁊ son conseil de les faire prendre tous p̄miers ⁊ de les faire mourir par diuſs torm̃s Et auoit ꝓpose que tātost quil ſoit venu Dyrlande quil deuoit māder couuſtemēt[5] touz ses aliez a une certaine feste quil deuoit faire la quelle deuoit durer un moys ⁊ dy faire venir tous les grans bourgois escheuīs ⁊ marchans[6] de toutes les villes Dengletᵉre ⁊ de tenir court ouuerte Et puis quāt ilz seroyent tous venus de les faire prēdre par ses gens ⁊ par ses aliez Et adonc pourroit il imposer telz subsides telles tailles et telles imposic̃ons come il vouldroit Et puis disoit le duc en ses

Henry circulates seditious letters.

[1] *MS. Ambass.*, Pontfroy.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, que il avoit atrait a son acort pluseurs, etc.; *MS. Ambass.*, qu'il avoit afrais à son accord plusieurs.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, qui auoient este depuis.

[4] *MS. Ambass.* omits 'des bonnes villes Denglet're.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, quil menderoit secretemēt.

[6] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et marchans.'

lectres. Et pour ce mes bons amis ⁊ bonnes gens quāt les choses dessus dictes sont venues a ma congnoissance au plus tost que jay peu je suis venu p deca pour les vous faire aſſ ⁊ aidier et conforter en tout ce que je pourray Car je suis des plus pres de la couronne Dengleſtre ⁊ suis tenu damer[1] ⁊ soustenir le royaume autant ou plus que nul qui viue car mes p̄decesseurs lont fait Ainsi mes amis Dieu soit garde de vous ⁊ soiez bien aduisez ⁊ pensez bien a ce que je vous escripz vostre bon ⁊ loyal amy Henry de Lenclastre.[2]

Henry's letters read to the people by the sheriffs.

ITEM quāt les lettres dessus dc̄es furēt portees parmy les villes ⁊ cōmunes des bōnes villes du royaume Dengleſtre[3] les escheuīs des villes faisoient assembler le peuple ⁊ puis faisoient lire les lr̄es deuāt eulx le peuple[4] estoit si tres esmeu cōtre le Roy Richart qui ignorāt estoit des choses dessus dc̄es quilz cr̄oient touz a une voix Despose soit ⁊ meure[5] le Roy Richart Dengleſtre que mauldiz soit il et viue le bon duc Henry de Lencastre ⁊ soit nr̄e seignr et nostre gouuſneur Et depuis que ces lr̄es estoiēt leues a painez osoit nulz parler du Roy Richart ⁊ tuoient ses officiers[6] ⁊ ses gens la ou ilz les pouoient atraper ⁊ prēdre Item le dit duc de Lenclastre escript unes autres lettres lesqueſt il enuoya aux grans seigneurs cōmēt le Roy Richart auoit traictie ⁊ fait traictier auec le Roy de France ⁊ auecques les grans seigneurs de son royaume quil rendroit ⁊ de-

Henry sends a second circular to the nobles.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, de aider.

[2] *MS. Lebaud* adds 'duc Dauorde.'

[3] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* read, 'furent portées et baillées aux eschevins ils faisoient assembler tout le peuple.'

[4] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, Et quand le peuple les eust ouys il fust si esmeu.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, mutile; *MS. Ambass.*, injurié.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, ses gens et officiers.

liueroit au Roy ⁊ a ceulx a qui elles appartenoiēt[1] toutes les villes forteresces ⁊ chasteaulx qui sont on royaume de France en Guienne en Gascoingne et ailleurs pour une ☆taine sōme de deniers quil deuoit receuoir dedens x ans en paiant chascun an jusques au ☆me de x ans Et quāt les seigneurs orent veues ⁊ aduisez[2] ces lr̃es ⁊ il leur souuint que le Roy auoit ja rendu Brest et Cherbourc ilz le crurent plus legieremēt. Et cest une des causes pour quoy tous les grans seigneurs laissirent et guerpirent soubdainemēt le Roy Richart Car tantost que les nouuelles furent espandues de ces lettres par le royaume Dengleterre. ⁊ que Henry de Lenclastre estoit venu pour le faire sauoir ⁊ pour le secourir des incōueniēs[3] qui sen pouoient ensuir il nestoit pas filz de bonne mere qui naloit au deuāt du duc pour lui p̃nter corps ⁊ auoir. Et en moins de vj jours il ot si grāt nōbre de peuple auec lui tant de nobles cōme de non nobles quilz estoient īnumerables[4] ⁊ quil failly quil en donnast cōgie a la plus grant partie pour ce que son peuple ne les pouoit soustenir ⁊ pour certain ce neust este la cautelle des faulses lectres dessus dc̃es faulsemēt cōtrouuees contre le bon Roy Richart[5] le dit duc de Lenclastre neust ja este receu en Eg̃le☆re a Roy ne a seigneur ne neust pas este si hardy daler a Londres.

Item quant le duc de Yorc lieuteñ du Roy Richart ⁊ sire Guiſſe Scroup tresorier oirent les nouuelles que le duc de Lēclastre estoit arriue en Engle☆re adonc fist on un cry ⁊ un mādemāt a Londres de par le Roy ⁊ de par son lieutenāt que chascun

The Duke of York collects his forces.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, quil rendroit et deliureroit a ceulx de France.

[2] *MS. Ambass.*, visité.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, pour le faire assauoir pour les grans incōueniens.

[4] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'tant de nobles cōme de non nobles quilz estoient īnumerables.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, vraiment le duc.

quil vouldroit ſuir le Roy que ils fussent prestz [1] lendemain pour aler auec le lieuteñ ou il lui plairoit a aler [2] Et lendemain ilz passerent le pont bien a iij^{m} cheuaulx [3] le duc de Yorc [4] ⁊ le marquis alerent pour encontrer le duc de Lēclastre pour lui deffendre a mectre pie sur la terre. Il est verite que ilz queroient le duc au west coste du pais. ⁊ il estoit sur le nord coste en son chastel a Poursoy [5] Et quāt le duc de Yorc ⁊ le marquis Dorcestre [6] ⁊ le tresorier Dēgleſtre [7] eurēt este iij jours dehors [8] ilz reuindrent a Londres Et quāt ilz orent disne ilz firent un cry ⁊ mādemāt de parlemēt [9] q̃ chascū qui vouldroit ſuir le Roy fust lendemain a Saint Alban tout prest a monstrer [10] ⁊ la seroient ilz paiez xxiiij deniers [11] Dengleſtre pour jour pour lance. ⁊ larchier xij deniers po^{r} jo^{r} [12] ⁊ la ot bien assemble lx^{m} archiers et bien mil lances. Adōc ilz vindrēt tout droit a Walincforde [13] a la court de la Royne ⁊ le tresorier fist fortifier le chastel ⁊ y mist des gens po^{r} garder la Royne et le chastel. et ilz alerent tout droit deuſs Hocsinforde. [14] ⁊ de la a Bresteau [15] pour entrer en la ville et on chastel auant que le duc de Lenclastre

The Duke of York's army at St. Alban's, 7th July, 1399, (Rot. Pat.)

at Wallingford;

at Oxford, 16th July; and at Bristol.

[1] *MS. O*, soy abilassent.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, a les mener.

[3] *MS. O*, iij^{m} archers; *MS. Y*, iiij^{m} cheuaulx.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, Et le lieutenant et le marquis.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, en pais coste de Poursoy en son chastel du dicte lieu; *MS. Y*, et allerent iusques a Wascote ou pais ou il estoit sur le nort coste en son chastel de Pomfray.

[6] *MS. O*, Dexcestre.

[7] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et le tresorier.'

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, iij jours sur les champs.

[9] *MS. Lebaud*, de par le Roy.

[10] *MSS. O* and *Y*, aux monstres; *MS. Le Beau*, pour faire monstres.

[11] *MS. O*, xiiij deñ; *MS. Le Beau*, xxiij deniers.

[12] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'pour lance, et larchier xij deniers po^{r} jo^{r}.'

[13] *MS. Lebaud*, Wastlinfort; *MS. Le Beau*, Wilmefort; *MS. Y*, Wafforde; *MS.* 10212, ^{3b}, Walcinfourde.

[14] *MS. Le Beau*, Hortemeforde; *MS. Y*, Honaforde; *MS. O*, Honsiforde.

[15] *MS. Lebaud*, Bretesteaull; *MS. Y*, Boisteau; *MS. Le Beau*, Brestain; *MS.* 10212, ^{3b}, a Vinsorde et a Breteau.

y venist, mais le chastellain ne voult pas ouurir au tresorier le dit chastel disant quil tenoit le chastel au prouffit ⁊ honeur du duc de Lenclastre Et sire Guiffe Scroup tresorier, sire Jehan Boissy, sire Thomas Grene, ⁊ sire Guiffe Bagod entreulx quatre alerent tenir la ville ⁊ la maison du conseil de la ville[1] Car ilz ne pouoient entrer on chastel ⁊ le duc de Yorc ⁊ le marquis tindrent les champs a tout leurs gēs Et le lieutenāt enuoya au duc de Lenclastre quil aloit la pour lui aidier a auoir son droit heritaige ⁊ ce quil auoit este bany ce nauoit pas este par son conseil Et le duc de Lenclastre renuoya a lui et dist Bel oncle vous soiez le bien venu a tout vos gens, Et quāt le duc de Lēclastre ⁊ son oncle le duc de Yorc lieutenāt furēt accordez ēsēble[2] vint le marquis frere du duc de Lenclastre pour venir a m̃cy pour auoir paix a son frere Adonc vint le cōte de Northomberland ⁊ sire Henry de Persy lesquelz voulf tuer ou prendre le marquis, ⁊ le duc de Lenclastre tira unes lectres hors dune gibessiere de veluel bleul[3] disāt Je vous prye que vous ne li faictez point de desplaisir car il est mon frere ⁊ si a tousiours este mon amy Veez cy la lectre que il mēuoya en France Le duc ⁊ le marquis baiserent lun lautre, Et apres ce que le duc ⁊ son frere furēt daccort il fu ordonne que larceuesque de Cātorbye ⁊ le conte Darondel deuoyent mener lauāt garde et cheuauchier deuant Bresteau la quelle fu bien forte de xx^{m} combatans,[4] Et le duc de Lenclastre auoit bien en sa compaignie iiij^{m} archiers[5] Et quāt lauāt garde vint deuāt Bresteau la ville se rendi tantost

The Lords Commissioners hold the Town Hall for the King.

The Duke of York goes over to Henry.

He is joined by the Marquis of Dorset.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, et la maison forte de la ville.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, furent assemblez.

[3] *MS. Le Beau*, gibecière de velours. The other MSS. read 'gibeciere' only, excepting *MS. Lebaud*, which reads 'de bleu sueil.'

[4] *MS. O*, x^{m} combatans.

[5] *MS. Y*, iiij^{m} cheualiers; *MS.* 10212, $^{3\,b}$, iiij^{xx} archiers.

The Lords Commissioners captured.

⁊ le chastel aussy[1] Et la furent prins sire Guille Scroup, sire Jehan Boissy sire Thomas Grene, et sire Guille Bagod eschappa ⁊ ne fu point adonques prins maiz il fu prins apres Il est verite que apres ce que ilz furent prins le duc leur fist coper[2] les testes et enuoya les testes en un blanc pānier a Londres, ⁊ unes lr̃es lesquelles aussy furēt leues[3] deuāt tout le cōmū de Londres, et cōmencoient ainsi, Je Henry de Lenclastre duc Daruorde ⁊ conte Derby me recōmāde a tous ceulx de Londres petiz ⁊ grans, Et je salue mil fois tous mes bons amys ⁊ sachiez q̃ je vous faiz sauoir que je suis venu on pais par deca[4] poʳ mō droit heritaige Et vous cōmāde que vous me faictez sauoir se vous estez[5] mes amis ou mes ennemis ⁊ ne men chault[6] Car jay des gens assez pour cōbatre tout le mōde poʳ un jour Dieu m̃cy Mais prenez en gre le p̃nt que je voꝰ ēuoye. Item ces lectres leues toux ceulx de Londres crierēt a une voix Nostre corps nostre vye nos heritaiges et tous q̃ que nous auons sy est en son commandement.[7]

Henry's letter to the men of London.

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[1] *MS. Le Beau,* ceulx de la ville se rendirent, et ses guaits qui avoient peu de gens ne se purent deffendre car le duc dYorth les avoit trahis.

[2] *MS. Y,* trencher; *MS. Lebaud,* fist a tous iij coupper les testes.

[3] *MS. Le Beau,* leuctes.

[4] *MSS. O* and *Y,* decza.

[5] *MS. Lebaud,* si vous voulez estre.

[6] *MS. Y,* sachez que je neu fais compte.

[7] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'et est verite que le Roy Richart retourna Dirlande, et le duc de Lencast' ala aleucont' de lui mais pour lors ne trouuerent pas lun laut' Car le Roy Richart tenoit le chemin Dimbernie et Dirlande en son retournant, et le Roy Henry cuidoit aut'ment.

IL est verite[1] que tantost que le cheuaucheur que meſſe Guiſſe Scroup auoit enuoye en Yrlande deuers le Roy Richart pour lui faire sauoir assauoir que le duc de Lenclastre estoit arriue en Engleſtre ⁊ le Roy Richart ot leues les lectres ⁊ sceu estoonemēt[2] les nouuelles estre vrayes il fu moult courroucie ⁊ moult trouble ⁊ dist ces parolles Ha bel oncle de Lenclastre Dieu face m̃cy a vostre ame[3] que se je vo⁹ eusse creu cest hōme cy ne me courroucast pas[4] maintenāt. ⁊ vous me deistes bien que je faisoye mal de lui tāt pardonner car encores me courouceroit il Trois fois lui ay pardonne ses meffaiz cōtre moy.[5] ⁊ vecy la iiij[e] quil me courouce Adonc ne dist plus mais tantost lui ⁊ son host au plus tost quil pot oncques sen retournerent en Engleſtre. Et arriua le dit Roy Richart en Engleſtre lui ⁊ tout son ost a un port ou il a un chastel ⁊ ville qui sappelle Brambroc[6] ⁊ sala logier le Roy on chastel et la demoura ij jours lui ⁊ son ost pour eulx reposer et po[r] ordonner de son fait. ⁊ dedans les deux jours les seigneurs qui estoient reuenus auecq̃s lui sceurēt les nouuelles des lr̃es ⁊ la cause pour quoy le duc de Lenclastre estoit arriue en Engleſtre. si firent un cōsistoire par nuit ensēble ⁊ partirēt eulx ⁊ leurs gens sanz prendre congie au Roy ⁊ sen alerēt deuers le duc Car cer-

Richard hears of Henry's arrival.

Richard leaves Ireland, and arrives at Pembroke.

[1] The same remark that was made of Henry's letters will apply to the following narrative of King Richard's return from Ireland, and of his capture. It is only found in the MSS. enumerated at page 34. This narrative ends with the words 'Ainsi fu mene jusques en la tour de Londres,' p. 64.

[2] *MS. Ambass.*, certainement.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* substitutes 'qui Dieu pardoint.'

[4] *MS. Ambass.*, mie.

[5] *MS. Ambass.* omits 'car encores me courouceroit il, Trois fois lui ay pardonne ses meffaiz cōtre moy.'

[6] *MS. Lebaud* substitutes 'a un moult bel port et chastel en la ville de Milforde;' *MS. Ambass.*, 'à ung port où il y a chastel et ville qui s'appelle Milfordes.'

Desertion of the army.

tainemt le Roy Richart quāt il retourna Dyrlande en Englet̄re auoit bien en sa cōpaignie xxxij^{m} persōnes desquelz xxxij^{m} il nen demoura pas plus hault de vj^{m} que tous ne sen alassent celle nuit. Et encores ceulx qui demourerent la plus grant partie[1] estoient estrangiers ⁊ souldoyers estrañ. Et quant ce vint au matin que le Roy fu leue ⁊ quil vouloit dire ses heures ainsi cōme il auoit acoustume il sappuia a une fenestre ⁊ regarda es champs la ou estoit logie son ost et quāt il ny vist que trop poy de gens il fu tout esbahy. Et entre deux quil se m̄ueilloit ⁊ parloit a Magdelein,[2] le conte Dontinton[3] son frere ⁊ le conte de Salsebry acompaigniez de iiij autres chīrs vindrent deu̅s le Roy, ⁊ le Roy leur demanda quelz nouuelles Adonc ilz respondirent Chier ſ nous ne sauons, maiz nous sōmes touz esbahiz de ce que lost est ainsi departy soubdainemēt Adonc dist le Roy Aucune cause y a il Adonc dist le conte de Salsebry que son escuier tranchant lui auoit dit le seoir que le conte de Waschomberland[4] lisoit le soir unes lectres[5] quil auoit receues de par Henry de Lenclastre ⁊ adonc cōmāda le Roy faire venir lescuier, ⁊ quāt lescuier fu venu le Roy lui demāda sil auoit veues les lettres ⁊ sil en sauoit riens Adonc se mist a genoulx le dit escuier deuāt le Roy Richart ⁊ respondi quil auoit bien veu tenir unes lectres au conte de Waschomberland[6] mais quil auoit dedens il ne sauoit Adonc dist le Roy a son frere ⁊ aux autres seigneurs Je vous prye oez icy messe ⁊ puis disnerons ensemble ⁊ parlerons de cecy apres disner Et ainsi le firent Et tantost que le Roy ot

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[1] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'la plus grant partie.'

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, et en demeurante quil se merueilloit Madelain.

[3] *MS. Ambass.*, d'Antinton.

[4] *MS. Ambass.*, Nortombelland; *MS. Lebaud*, Wascombell'.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, une lettres closes.

[6] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, au dit conte.

disne ⁊ les seignrs qui estoient en sa compaignie ilz entrerēt en une chābre a cōseil Et dist le Roy Je scay bien que je suis trahy par cest mauuays hōme pour Dieu aduisez le meilleur quil sera de faire [1] Adonc dist le conte de Salsebry, monſr en verite cest hōme cy se cōme jay ja entendu a ja moult esmeu le peuple contre vous par faulses menconges ⁊ par parolles cōtrouuees vous veez ja ⁊ pouez veoir que les iiij pars de vos gens vous ont laissie en une seulle nuit ⁊ tous les plus grans Si me semble quil seroit bon sauf la correccion de vostre bon conseil veu que noo sōmes pou de gens et encores ne sauons nous se encores ceulx qui sont auec nous nous demourront, que quāt ce vendra ēcore nuit [2] que nous preissions iiij ou vc lances [3] des meilleurs ⁊ des plus feables [4] de ceulx qui sont demourez ⁊ que nous entrissons en mer veu que vostre nauire est tout prest daler ou il vous plaira, ⁊ nous en alissons tout droit a Bordeaulx, la serons nous bien receuz ⁊ si arez aide se mestier est de France de Bretaigne ⁊ de Gascoingne Car il se vault mieux un pou eslongmer [5] de son ennemy que de soy mectre en son dangier Adonc respondi le conte Dontinton, par Saint George se monſ men croit Il sen yra encore nuit a Bellincardic [6] et de la a Cornuay le fort chastel la sera il seuremēt ⁊ sera en son droit heritaige [7] Et le Roy respondy Aussy serions nous a Bourdeaulx Cest vray respondi le conte son frere maiz se vous alez a Bourdeaulx tout le monde dira que vous

Consultation of the King and his adherents.

The Earl of Salisbury advises to go to Bordeaux.

The Duke of Exeter counsels to go to Conway.

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[1] *MS. Ambass.*, qu'il aura de faire; *MS. Lebaud*, quil sera bon de faire.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, que quant ce vendra ja sur le tart.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'lances.'

[4] See *Glossary*.

[5] *MS. Ambass.*, eslongner; *MS. Lebaud*, esloingner.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, Il yra a Bellicadry et de la a Cornuay; *MS. Ambass.*, Bellicardit; *MS.* 10212, 3b, au giste a Bellicarde.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, et en son royaume.

en estez enfouy[1] sans ce que len vous ait chacie ⁊ que se vo[9] ne vous sentissiez coulpable daucun fait que vous ne vous en fussiez pas ale Et se vous estez au chasteau de Bellincardit[2] vous serez seur contre tout le monde Car en despit du visaige de Henry de Lenclastre ⁊ de tous ses aidens[3] toutes foiz et quātefoiz quil vous plaire vous pouriez entrer en mer et aler quelque part quil vous plaira Et par auenture entredeux[4] que vous serez au chastel on pourra faire aucū bon accort Adonc dist le Roy vous dictez bien nous le ferons ainsi Et vous mesmez irez demain[5] deuſs Henry de Lenclastre pour sauoir sa bonne voulente ⸗ Leuesque de Carline[6] Salsebry[7] meſſe Estienne Scroup ⸗ meſſe Febric Janicop ⁊ Magdelein[8] estoiēt mieulx daccort daler a Bourdeaulx mais il plaisoit au Roy de croire son frere Adonc isserent hors de la chābre ⁊ sen alerēt chascū en son logiz ⸗ eulx aprester secretemēt pour partir au soir Quant se vint en la nuit le Roy en sa cōpaignie son frere ⸗ le conte de Salsebry et enuiron c cheuaulx ptirēt secretemēt de Brābrouc ⸗[9] et sen alerent a Bellincardic[10] q̄ estoit bien a xxx[m] dillec[11] Et quāt ce vint au matin ceulx qui estoient demourez ⸗ en lost du Roy furēt tous esbahiz ⁊ tous desconfortez quant ilz sceurēt que le Roy sen estoit

The King leaves Pembroke by night with 100 horsemen.

[1] *MS. Ambass.*, que vous en serez fuy. This MS. then condenses the following nine or ten lines.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, de Cornuay.

[3] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], ses aliez; *MS. Lebaud*, ses amis.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, durant que vous serez.

[5] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'demain.'

[6] *MS. Ambass.*, l'évesque de Callain et l'évesque de Salsebry, messire Estienne Skropt, messire Tenelem, Janicot et Magdalain.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, le comte de Salsebery.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, Februc Janicot et Magdelain; *MS.* 10212, [3 b], does not give the names, but reads, 'toutesfoiz les aut'z seigneurs du conseil du Roy.'

[9] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, Milforde; so *MS.* 10212, [3 b].

[10] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, Bellicardit.

[11] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, à vint lieues d'illec; so *MS.* 10212, [3 b].

ale ⁊ par esp̃al les estraingiers car ilz ne sauoiēt q̃ faire Si deslogerent[1] tous ⁊ penserēt deulx en aler les uns ca ⁊ les aut̃s la ⁊ estoit grāt pitie des estraingiers ⁊ aussy de ceulx qui se renōmoient pour le Roy Richart Car les gens du duc de Lenclastre quelq̃ part quilz le[s] encōtroient les destroussoient ⁊ leur ostoient[2] tout ce quilz auoiēt vaillāt Et quāt le Roy fu arriue a Bellincardic il sen ala tantost a Cornuay qui estoit asses pres dillec Et comāda a son frere quil alast de par lui parler a Henry de Lenclastre Adonc le cōte Dontinton monta a cheual lui xij[e] ⁊ sen ala deu̓s le duc lequel il encontra a vij lieues[3] pres dillec Et quāt il vint deu̓s le duc il sagenoilla ⁊ lui fist grant reue̓nce[4] en lui disant mon̄[r] bien soiez vous venu par deca Adonc lui dist le duc de Lenclastre Leuez vous car je nay pas a coustume[5] que vous me faciez si grant reue̓nce Adonc dist le conte Dontinton mon̄[r] cest bien raison que je vous face reue̓nce car vostre pere fu filz de Roy et aussy ma fēme est vostre suer pour quoy je suis bien tenu de vous faire reue̓nce Adonc dist Henry de Lenclastre Or sus beau frere leuez sus Bien soiez vous venu car vous nauez pas tousiours ainsi fait Que fait mon̄[r] le Roy Il le fait tres bien Dieu m̃cy ⁊ vous salue de par moy Adonc print le duc de Lenclastre le conte Dontinton[6] ⁊ parlerent longuemēt ensemble maiz quilz dirēt je ne scay mais au partir le duc dist au conte Vous ne retournerez point deu̓s mon̄ le Roy jusques a tant que jaray nouuelles du cōte de Northomberland lequel

The remains of the army and the mercenaries disperse.

Richard goes to Conway, and sends the Duke of Exeter to Henry.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, si aduiserent eulx desloigier.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, les tuoient et ostoient.

[3] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, à six lieues; *MS.* 10212, [3 b], a Excestre a vij lieues pres dilec.

[4] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et lui fist grant reue'nce.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, je nay pas apris que.

[6] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, par la main, et le tira à part, et parlèrent longuement ensemble.

Henry detains the Duke of Exeter.

jaye enuoye par deuſs luy pour nous mectre a accort Adonc respondi le conte Dontinton Monſ je ne lay point encontre / [1] Pour ce dist le duc quil nest pas ale le chemin que vous estez venu Et sachiez que tantost apres le duc Henry de Lenclastre donna son ordre au conte ⁊ lui fist oster celle du Roy Richart ⁊ a tous ceulx qui auec lui estoient [2] Et quāt le duc Dexcestre conte Dontinton osta lordre du Roy Richart il cōmenca a plourer ⁊ demoura grant piece sans pler Adonc lui dist le conte de Rotelan qui la estoit Beaulx cousins ni vous courrouciez pas car se Dieu plaist les choses iront bien Et sestoit party le dit conte de Rotelan lequel le Roy Richart auoit fait duc Darmarle ⁊ cōnestable Dēgleterre entre lui [3] ⁊ meſſe Thomas de Persy grant maistre doste du Roy Richart du porte de Milforde on quel port le Roy ⁊ son ost estoiēt arriuez au partir Dirlande le xiij[e] jour Daoust lan mil ccc iiij[xx] ⁊ xix [4] sans auoir pris congie du Roy ne des autres seign[r]s ⁊ sen estoient alez deuſs le duc [4] ⁊ dist a ceulx de lost du Roy Mes enfans faictes chūn au mieulx que vous pourrez le Roy sans rens ordōner sen est ale sauuez vous chascū au mieulx q̄ vous pouriez Et puis sen ala deuers le duc faire sa paix.

Henry at Chester.

ITEM le propre jour que le conte Dontinton duc Dexcestre [5] vint deuſs le duc il le trouua en sa ꝓpre ville Dexcestre [6] logie lui ⁊ son ost Et icelluy jour propremēt qui fu le Dimenche xx[e] jour Daoust lan

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, Je ne lay point veu ne encontre.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit 'et a tous ceulx qui avec lui estoient.'

[3] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'entre lui.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud* omits the words between the two figures of 4.

[5] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* duc d'Orcestre.

[6] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit 'Dexcestre,' and read only, 'en sa propre ville.'

dessus dit le duc auoit ēuoye deuſs le Roy Richart le conte de Northomberland qui estoit viel ⁊ ancien afin que le Roy creust plus tost a ses diz ⁊ quil neust pas si grant presumpcion enuſs lui cōme vers un plus jeune. Et auoit bien le dit conte en sa compaignie c lances ⁊ ij^{c} archiers Et sachiez que tantost que le duc de Lenclastre ⁊ le conte Dontinton eurent parle ensemble le conte Dontinton par le cōmādemēt du duc enuoya un de ses gens par deuſs le conte de Northōberlād ⁊ lui bailla deux lectres[1] dont les unes aloient au Roy de par son frere lesquelles faisoient mencion quil creust le messag̃ de ce quil lui diroit. et les autres au conte de Northomberlād Verite est que le conte de Northomberland lui viij^{e}[2] Car il auoit laissie ses gens embuschiez entre deux montaignes ⁊ leur auoit cōmāde que ilz ne partissent dillecq̃s jusq̃s a tant quilz eussent nouuelles de luy ou du Roy le quel ilz desiroient moult a tenir Et quāt le dit conte vint deuſs le Roy il le trouua en un chasteau moult fort et ēuirōne de mer de tous costes qui a nom Cornuay ⁊ la vint il mōlt humblemēt lui viij^{e}[3] ⁊ salua le Roy moult hūblemēt et sa compaignie Et toutes foiz nauoit le Roy auecq̃s lui adōques fors que v ou vj p̄sonnes notables Cest assauoir leuesque de Carlin,[4] le conte de Salsebry meſſe Estienne Scroup, meſſe Ferbric[5] le filz de la vielle contesse de Salsebry ⁊ un escuier de Gascoīgne,[6] Et quāt le Roy vist le dit conte il le fist leuer ⁊ lui demāda des nouuelles Adonc dist le dit conte, Mon tres chīr ſ Je viens par deuſs vous de

Henry sends the Earl of Northumberland to the King.

Northumberland leaves his men in ambush, and

arrives at Conway Castle.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, deux paires de lettres.

[2] *MS.* 10212, 3 b, luy xiij^{e}; *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, ne vint deuers le Roy Richart que lui viij^{e}.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'lui viij^{e}.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, Callin; *MS. Ambass.*, Callain.

[5] *MS. Ambass.*, Ferlut; *MS. Lebaud*, Scabut; *MS.* 10212, 3 b, omits the names of Scroup and Ferbric.

[6] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, ung escuyer de Gascoigne nomme Janicot.

par vostre cousin Henry de Lēclastre Adonc lui dist le Roy sil auoit point encontre son frere lequel il y auoit enuoye Oil tres chr̃ ſ veez unes lr̃es quil ma baillees Le Roy prist les lectres ⁊ regarda le seel ⁊ vit q̃ cestoit le seel de son frere Adonc ouura les lr̃es ⁊ les lut ⁊ nauoit cōtenu es lr̃es fors tāt seulemẽt ⸗ Mon tres chr̃ ſ Je me recōmāde a vous Wueilliez croire le conte de ce quil vous dira Car jay trouue le duc de Lēclastre a Cestre[1] ma ville le quel a tres grant voulente dauoir bonne paix ⁊ accort auecques vous ⁊ ma retenu pour lacompaignier jusques a tant quil sara vostre voulente Quāt le Roy ot leues les lr̃es il dist au dit conte de Northōberland Or ca Northōberland dictes vostre messaige Adonc dist le dit conte ⸗ Mon tres chr̃ ſ⸗ monſ le duc de Lēcaſt menuoye cy p deuſs vous pour vous dire que le plus grāt desir quil ait en cest mōde si est dauoir paix auecq̃s vous ⁊ bon accort[2] Et se repent moult de tout son cuer du desplaisir quil vous a fait maintenāt ⁊ auſtffoiz ⸗ ⁊ ne vous demāde rēs en cest mōde viuāt fors quil vous plaise de le tenir poʳ cousin ⁊ amy ⁊ que il vous plaise quil ait seulemẽt sa terre ⁊ quil soit grant juge Dengleſtre ainsi cōme son pere ⁊ ses p̄deceſſſˢ ont este ⁊ toutes auſs choses du temps passe soient mises en oubly entre vous deux Et que sur ce cy il a esleu juges poʳ vous ⁊ pour luy Cest assauoir vostre frere leuesque de Carlin le conte de Salsebry Magdelein ⁊ le cōte de Waschōberland[3] ces cinq il charge du descort qui est entre vous ⁊ lui Si voᵒ plaise a moy dōner response Car tous les grās seignʳs Dēgleſtre ⁊ les comunes sont de ceste oppinion cy Adonc dist le Roy traiez[4] vous un pou

He delivers a forged letter to Richard.

Northumberland's message.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, à Orcestre.

[2] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et bon accort.'

[3] *MS.* 10212, [3b], Nostamberlande; *MS. Ambass.*, Northomberlland et les charge du désaccord qui est entre vous et luy.

[4] *MS. Ambass.*, tirez vous ung peu arrière et vous aurez tantost réponse.

arriere ⁊ vous arez tantost response Adonc le Roy ⁊ leuesque de Carlin le conte de Salsebry meſſ Estienne Scroup ⁊ Frebric[1] ⁊ un escuier de Gascoingne entrerēt en la chappelle du chastel ⁊ dist le Roy ⁊ Messeigneurs vous auez oy ce que le conte a dit que vous en semble Adonc dirēt Monſr dc̃es p̃mierem̃t Le Roy respondi Il me semble que la paix seroit bōne entre nous deux se il est ainsi cōme le conte a dit ⁊ maiz en ꝟite quelque accort ne paiz quil face auec moy se je le puis jamaiz tenir a mon auātage je le feray mourir mauuaisemēt ainsi cōe il la gaingnie Adonc dist leuesque de Carlin ⁊[2] Monſ la paix est bonne maiz il me semble quil sera bon que vous faciez jurer le conte de Northomberland aux Saintes Euāgilles ⁊ sur le corps nr̃e ſ[3] se ce quil a dit est verite ⁊ Adonc dist le conte de Salsebry ⁊ les autres Cest bien dit Adonc dist le Roy Faictez venir Northomberland Adonc vint le dit conte lequel peut bien estre compare a Judas ou a Guenelon[4] Car il se pariura falsemēt sur le corps nr̃e ſ de tout ce quil auoit dit Et q̃nt il fu deuāt le Roy le Roy lui dist ainsi Northomberland se vous nous voullez asseurer par vostre loyal seremēt ⁊ jurer sur le corps nr̃e ſ sacre[5] que ce que vous nous auez rapporte de par nr̃e cousin de Lenclastre est verite nous vous croyrons ⁊ irons a Flint au giste Et la vendra beau cousin de Lenclastre parler a nous Adonc dist le conte qui estoit[6] viel ⁊ ancien ⁊ Mon ꝟs cr̃ ſ Je suis tout prest de faire tel seremēt que vous vouldrez Et adonc le Roy comāda que on chantast la messe car

Consultation of the King and his friends at Conway.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, Ferlut et ung escuyer de Gascongne, nommé Janicop.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, Callain. So throughout.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, le corps de Jhū Crist sacre.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, Guanellon; *MS.* 10212, [3b], a Guenelon qui trahit les xij peres de France.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, after 'sacre' adds 'derechief.'

[6] *MS. Ambass.*, ezt viel et ancien.

il estoit encores matin laquelle il oy moult deuotemēt et tous ses compagnons aussi car il estoit vray catholique Et quāt la messe fu chātee il fist venir le conte de Northomberland lequel mist la main sur le corps nr̃e ſ qui estoit sur lautel en la p̄nce du Roy ⁊ des seignrs et jura que tout ce quil auoit dit au Roy de par Henry de Lēcaſt estoit verite dont il se pariura mauuaasemēt ⁊ faulsement. Et quāt le seremēt fu fait le Roy ⁊ ceulx qui estoient presens alerent disner et cōmāda le Roy que tout fust prest porꝰ ptir pour aler a Flint apres diner Et quant ilz eurent disne le Roy dist au conte de Northomberland. Northomberland porꝰ Dieu soiez bien seur ⁊ aduisez vous bien cōmēt vous auez jure car cest sur vostre dampnemēt sil est auſment Adonc respondi le conte Tres chr̃ ſ se vous le trouuez auſmēt si faictez de moy cōme on doit faire dun traitre Or bien dist le Roy nous yrons a la fiance de Dieu ⁊ a la loyaute que nous cuidons auoir a voꝰ a Flint Adonc dist le conte Mon ſs chr̃ ſ sil vous plaist je iray deuant ⁊ vous feray aprester[1] a souper. ⁊ māderay a monſ le duc ce que jay fait Adonc dist le Roy Or alez Et dist le faulx conte au departir. Mon ſs chr̃ ſ hastez vous car ilz sont ja deux heures ou pres[2] Adonc sen ala le conte lui viijᵉ ainsi cōme il estoit venu ⁊ cheuaucha jusques a la montaigne ou il auoit laissie son embusche ⁊ la firent ilz grant feste ⁊ dist a son embusche nous arons asses tost ce que nous demandons. Le Roy Richart qui estoit ignorant de toute la mauuaistie ⁊ traison que le dit conte auoit pourparlee[3] ⁊ faicte monta a cheual ⁊ toute sa cōpaignie ⁊ nestoit que lui xijᵉ en tout[4] ⁊ cheuaucha

Northumberland makes oath upon the Sacrament.

King Richard, confiding, leaves Conway.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, pour vous faire app'eiller au souper quelque chose.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, deux heures ou pres apres disner; *MS. Ambass.*, jà deux heures après.

[3] *MS. Ambass.*, pourpensée.

[4] *MS. Ambass.*, que luy vingt deuxiéme; so *MS. Lebaud.*

jusqs a la montaigne Et quāt il descendoit la montaigne lui ⁊ ses cōpaignons ilz appceurent les gens du conte de Northomberlād qui estoient en la vallee tous armez. Adonc dist il au conte de Salsebry Naparceuez vous point la bas banieres [1] ⁊ panons Adōc respondi le conte de Salsebry Certainemēt monſ oil le cuer me dit mal [2] Certes dist leuesque de Carlin je me doubte mōlt que cest hōme cy ne vous ait trahy et en parlant ces parolles ilz appceurent le d conte qui venoit cōtre eulx lui xij[e] [3] ⁊ le Roy et tous ses compaignons estoient apie pour cause de la montaigne qui estoit trop roide [4] Et quāt le conte vint au deuāt le Roy il lui dist. Monſ[r] bien soiez venu je vous venoye au deuant Adonc monta le Roy a cheual qui auoit ja descendu presque la plus grāt ptie de la mōtaigne [5] ⁊ dist au conte Northomberland Quelz gens sont cela qui sont la bas en celle vallee. Le conte respondi. Monſ[r] je ne scay je ne les ay point veuz Adonc dist Salsebry [6] Or regardez dist il veez les cy deuāt vous Par Saint Jehan dist leuesq̄ de Carlin ce sont vos gēs se me semble car jappcoy vostre baniere Adonc dit le Roy Northomberland se je sauoye que vous me voulsissiez trahir je retourneroye a Cornuay Adonc dist le conte Par Saint George monſ vous ny retournerez mays des moys [7] car je vous menray a monſ le duc de Lenclastre ainsi cōme je lui ay promis. Et a ces

He perceives Northumberland's men in ambush.

[1] *MS. Lebaud,* banieres et standards et pennons.

[2] *MS. Lebaud,* et le Roy dist le cuer me dit mal.

[3] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], luy xxij[e].

[4] *MS. Ambass.* omits 'qui estoit trop roide.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud,* pres que toute la montaigne qui estoit trop roide; *MS. Ambass.,* presque toute la montaigne, au moins le plus fort.

[6] *MSS. Ambass.* and *Lebaud,* le conte de Salsebry.

[7] *MS. Ambass.,* vous n'y retournerez mais d'ung mois. Et mit la main à la bride du cheval du Roy; *MS. Lebaud* and *MS.* 10212, [3 b], have the last part of the sentence.

King Richard is betrayed, Sunday, 17th August, 1399;

parolles vint Herpigault[1] auecques toutes les gens du conte auec trōpectez faisans grant noise Adonc vit bien le Roy ⁊ ses compaignons quilz estoient trahiz, et dist au conte,[2] Le Dieu sur quoy tu as jure ⁊ mis la main le te vueille rendre au jour du jugemēt ⁊ a tous tes cōplices Adonc regarda ses cōpaignons qui plouroyent[3] et leur dist en souspirāt, Ha mes bons loyaulx amis nous sōmes tous trahiz ⁊ mis entre les mains de nos ennemis sanz cause pour Dieu auez pasciēce ⁊ vous souuiēgne de nostre Saulueur qui fu vendu ⁊ mis entre la main de ses ennemis sanz ce quil leust deseruy Adōc dist le bon conte de Salsebry Tres cl̄r ∮ se Dieu plaist nous prendrons la pascience auecques vous telle cōme il plaira a Dieu

and lodged in Flint Castle.

que nous larons[4] Ainsi en parlāt ⁊ plourāt ⁊ en gemissant vindrēt a Flint et quāt ilz furent la ilz logerent le Roy ⁊ ses compaignōs on chastel, ⁊ le garnirēt bien,[5] le dit cōte ⁊ Herpigault pour les garder,[6] Et tantost mōta le cōte de Northomberland a cheual lui vj^{e} ⁊ sen ala a Cestre[7] deuers le duc de Lenclastre pour lui dire ⁊ denūcier la maniere et cōmēt il auoit prins le Roy ⁊ mene a Flint jusques a Cestre[8] na que vj petites lieues.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, Horpinghens; *MS. Ambass.*, Lorpinghen; *MS.* 10212, 3 b, has only 'vindrēt ses gens.'

[2] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'moult piteusement.'

[3] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'moult fort.'

[4] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, nous prendrons en pacience se Dieu plaist avecques vous.

[5] *MS.* 10212, 3 b, et furēt gardes de c. lances et ij^{m} archiers.

[6] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, et le garnirent bien de gens d'armes pour le garder.

[7] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, Orcestre; *MS.* 10212, 3 b, Excestre.

[8] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, a Orcestre on ne compte.

IUL[1] mortel hõme ne pourroit dire ne penser les grãs douleurs les grans plains les grãs gemissemens les grans regrez que le Roy ⁊ ses compaignons firent icelle nuit[2] au chastel de Flint cõme ceulx qui nattendoyẽt fors que on leur deust coper les testes lendemain. Et disoit le Roy O vray Dieu qui formas tout le monde O benoicte Vierge Marie qui portas le benoit Fruit de Vye O mon parrain monſ Saint Jeſ Bapt̃[3] O tous les Sains ⁊ Saintes qui estes en Paradiz sil fault que je meure ⁊ mes cõpaignons pour moy[4] Ainsi vrayemẽt cõme je ne forfis oncques chose[5] au royaume Dengleſre poꝛquoy on me deust ainsi mener prengne vous pitie de moy ⁊ de mes cõpaignons Et sil fault que je meure vous plaist recevoir mon ame[6] en vostre saint Paradiz. Ha tres chier suer ⁊ dame tres chieſ ⁊ amee cõpaigne Ysabeau de France jamais ne vous verray. helas je vous laisse entre mes ennemis. Ha ſs chier pere ⁊ tres noble Roy de France je me recõmãde a vous ⁊ vo[9] laisse vr̃e fille la quelle pleust a Dieu fust maĩtenãt p deuſs vous. helas[7] elle est cõme laignel entre les loups. helas jauoye voulente quãt jestoye a Cornuay daler par deuers vo[9] or suy je trahy faulsemẽt or ny a il remede. Ha tres chier pere de France ⁊ mes beaulx oncles Berry Bourgoigne fleur de noblessce jamais ceste honte ne sera vengee se ce nest par vous. Ha beau pere de France la chose vous touche moult ⁊ plus que a nul hõme vivãt pour Dieu vueilliez y mectre remede bien brief. Ha beau

The King's lamentations.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, Pour certain nul hõme mortel.

[2] *MSS. Ambass.* and *Lebaud* omit 'icelle nuit.'

[3] *MS Lebaud* adds, 'mon t's doulx parrain et ami.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, pour lamour de moy.

[5] *MS. Ambass.*, oncques riens.

[6] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'sil fault que je meure,' and reads, 'nos ames.'

[7] *MS. Ambass.* omits the sentence 'helas elle est cõme laignel,' and ending 'par deuers vo[s].'

The King's lamentations.

cousin de Bretaigne je me recōmāde a vous, helas vous me deistes[1] au departir q̃ jamaiz ne seroye seur tant que Henry de Lenclastre vesquit, helas je lay garde de mort iij foiz car beaulx oncles[2] de Lenclastre q̃ Dieux absoille le voult une foiz faire mourir po[r][3] la traison ⁊ vileine quil lui auoit faicte, Ha Dieu de Paradiz je cheuauchay toute nuit pour le garder de mort et le me dōna son pere a ma requeste ⁊ dist que jen feisse ma voulente[4] Adieu cōme il est verite ce que on seult dire que on na nul pire ennemy que cellui q̃ on retourne des fourches,[5] Ha Dieux autre foiz sacha il[6] son espee contre moy en la chābre de la Royne q̃ Dieux absoille, Ha benoite Vierge Marie aussi fut il du cōsentemēt ⁊ du conseil du duc de Clocestre[7] mon oncle ⁊ du cōte Darondel de me faire mourir ⁊ son pere ⁊ touz ceulx de mon conseil, Ha mon parrain monſ Saint Jehan Baptiste Or lui auoye je pardonne tout ce quil me meffist[8] oncq̃s ⁊ ne vouls poīt croire mon oncle son pere que ij ou iij foiz lauoit jugie a mort, helas je fiz que fol, Ha beau frere[9] noble Roy de Behaigne et vous chier frere,[10] sire Sygemont de Hongrie[11] O noble duc de Guerles[12] ⁊ touz nobles barons Dalamaigne je me recōmāde a vous et vous prye trestouz[13] quil vous plaise a vengier ceste honte

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, vous dites bñ au departir.

[2] *MS. Ambass.*, bel oncle.

[3] *MS. Ambass.*, 'par,' a clerical error.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, a ma voulente, ha t's doulx Dieux.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, *MS.* 10212, [3b], and *Ambass.*, du gibet. Les forches etoient à deux, à trois, à quatre et à six piliers; elles appartenoient au seigneur justificier, et remplaçoient le gibet, ou larbre pendret. *Dict. de la Langue Romanc.* The Fourkes of Tybourne. *Rot. Parl.*

[6] *MS. Ambass.*, sailla il.

[7] *MS. Lebaud* reads, 'Lancastre;' evidently an error.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, me fist oncques.

[9] *MS. Ambass.*, beau sire.

[10] *MS. Lebaud*, beau frere.

[11] *MS. Ambass.*, et vous beau frère et saige Sygemont de Hongrie.

[12] *MS. Lebaud*, O noble duc de Galles.

[13] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit 'trestouz.'

que len me fait sanz cause. Ha bon Roy Descoce vueilles moy pardōner touz les meffaiz que vous auez receuz de par moy depuis q̄ je fu Roy Dengleterre. Ha s̄ chiere mere & dame[1] la Royne de Frāce je me recōmāde a vo⁹ helas jauoye ꝓpose de vo⁹ aler veoir bien brief & vous mener Ysabeau[2] vostre fille ma chiē dame & come qui grant desir a de vous veoir Ha tres chr frere noble daulphin de Viennois, helas or voy je bien que jamaiz ne vous verray. Ha beau frere Loys noble duc de Tourraine et vous Katerine & Jehanne de France,[3] or fust Ysabel ma s̄ chiere & amee[4] cōpaigne a Paris auecq̄s vous, helas se je feusse asseur delle jen mourusse plus aise,[5] Et beau frere noble conte[6] de Saint Pol a vous me vueil recōmāder. Ha s̄ chr pere tres noble & puissant Roy de France pour icelle amour pour la quelle nostre Saulueur[7] Jh̄u Cr̄st descendi en la benoicte Vierge Marie pour prandre char humaine[8] prēgne vous pitie de ma[9] tres chiere cōpaigne Ysabel vostre fille. Ha tous nobles seigneurs de France ducz cōtes princes & autres nobles cheualiers ainsi vrayemēt cōme oncques je ne forfiz cheualerie vous recōmāde je lōneur de cheualerie a garder loyaumēt ainsi come vous auez fait[10] Car oncques ne fu sceu que aucūe traison[11] fust faicte a nul des nobles Roys de France cōme mont fait mes ꝓpres cousins et parens

The King's lamentations.

[1] *MS. Ambass.*, très chière mère et dame, madame la Royne de France.

[2] *MS. Ambass.*, Ysabel; *MS. Lebaud* omits the name.

[3] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, de Tourraine et vos mes suers et Jehan de France.

[4] *MS. Ambass.* reads, 'or feust ma très chière compaigne à Paris avecques vous.'

[5] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, plus légiérement et plus aise.

[6] *MS. Ambass.*, noble Roy conte de Sainct Pol.

[7] *MS. Ambass.*, nostre Seigneur.

[8] *MS. Ambass.*, chair humaine.

[9] *MS. Lebaud*, de moy et de ma.

[10] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'loyaument ainsi cōme vous avez fait.'

[11] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, si énorme trahison.

The King's lamentations.

Si vous supplie ℞stous hũblemẽt quil vous plaise a aidier ℸ conforter mon ℞s cher pere ℸ seigneur le noble Roy de France touteffois ℸ quãteffoiz quil lui plaira den prẽdre vengence, la quelle je prye a Dieu quil la lui doiut[1] faire telle ℸ bien brief cõme au cas appꝑtient. Ha ma tres chie℞ seur ℸ dame chie℞ cõpaigne Ysabeau[2] de France certes se je vous pouoye veoir une foiz auãt que je morusse certes jen mourroye plus aise et en prẽdroye la mort plus en gre. Ha doulx Jhũs ℸ q̃ me veullent ces gens. Ha benoite Vierge Marie ℸ que leur ay je meffait.[3] Ha mon parrain mon℞r Saint Jeñ je vous recõmãde mon ame ℸ les ames de ceulx qui pour moy mourront[4] Ainsi se demenoit le noble Roy Richart, le conte de Salsebry et les autres refaisoient[5] estrange dueil en regretant fẽmes et ẽfans freres meres suers. Et quãt ce vint apres mienuit enuiron une heure leuesque de Carlin se mist a genoulx deuãt le Roy en disant. Mon ℞s cher ℟ ℸ vous mes[6] amis et cõpaignõs pour Dieu ne vous desconfortez tant maiz aiez bonne esperance ℸ soiez fermes ℸ seurs en la foy de nr̃e ℟r et se a mourir fault ℘nons la mort en gre ℸ ayons memoire de la passion de nr̃e Saulueur ℸ des sains martirs qui sont en Paradiz A ces parolles cessa le Roy de se cõplaindre ℸ tous les autres seigneurs se ale℞nt couchier.[7]

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[1] *MS. Ambass.*, donne faire.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, sueur Ysabel.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, *MS.* 10212, 3 b, and *MS. Ambass.* insert here, 'Ha! mon parrain, monseigneur Saint Jehan Baptiste, Hérodes vous fit coupper la teste par envie; ainsi veut faire Henry de Lenclaistre à moy et à mes (*MS. Lebaud*, mes bons et loyaulx) compaignons.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'mourront.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, faisoient.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, mes bons amis.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, et salerent couchier moult dolens et courrouciez.

LE Mardi a matin xxij^e jour du moys Daoust se leua le Roy Richart ⁊ tous ses cōpaignes ⁊ dist ses heures ⁊ puis oy la messe moult deuotemēt ⁊ ses cōpaignōs auecq̄s lui ⁊ q̄nt la messe fu dc̄e [1] il mōta sur les murs du chastel q̄ estoyēt haulx ⁊ larges ⁊ ses cōpaignōs auec lui. Il est c̄tain que le Lūdi deuāt, le cōte de Northōberland arriua deuſs le duc de Lenclastre a Cestre [2] bien tart Et quāt il fu arriue il vint deuſs le duc ⁊ lui cōta toute la manieſ cōmēt il auoit trahy le Roy ⁊ ses cōpaignōs. Et tantost que le duc sceut q̄ le Roy estoit prins cōme a celluy a qui il tardoit [3] plus q̄ a nul hōme viuant il mena si tres grant feste lui ⁊ tous ceulx de lost que on les pouoit oir dune lieue tout autour de la noise quilz faisoient de trompectez [4] ⁊ dautres instrumēs ⁊ cōmāda que tout hōme fust prest pour deslogier le matin pour aler a Flint Et quant ce vint au point du jour [5] le duc de Lenclastre sarma lui ⁊ tous ceulx de son ost ⁊ estoient bien en sa cōpaignie de lx a iiij^xx milles psonnes ⁊ fist rengier ses gēs et mettre en ordonnāce cōme sil voulsist aler en bataille et cheuaucha en celle ordonnāce pmi la grauelle de la mer [6] jusques a Flint Et est c̄tain que quāt il appcha a ij lieues pres le Roy Richart ⁊ ses cōpaignōs qui estoient sur les murs appceurent bien le duc de Lenclastre ⁊ son ost [7] ⁊ oirēt bien les trōpetez ⁊ les instrumēs qui menoiēt si grant noise que on les oioit bien cleremēt Adonc cōmēca le Roy Richart a fremir ⁊ a plourer

Northumberland acquaints Henry of the King's capture.

Henry and his army march to Flint, Tuesday, 19th August.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, chantée.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, Orcestre; *MS.* 10212, 3b, Excestre.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, il tendoit plus.

[4] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit 'tout autour de la noise quilz faisoient.'

[5] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* read, 'et commanda que son ost fust prêt au point du jour. Le duc,' etc.

[6] *MS. Ambass.*, le sablon de la mer; *MS.* 10212, 3b, la greue de la mer.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, et ses compaignons.

⁊ ses cōpaignons en disant, Helaz or approche leure q̃ no[9] ſons liurez en la main de nr̃e mortel ennemy Et quant ce vint que lost fut a demie lieue du dit chastel de Flint, le duc de Lenclastre enuoya deuſs le Roy Richart larceuesque de Cantorbye, le conte de Rotelan, meſse Thomas de Persy Et tantost quilz furēt venuz deuſs le Roy ilz sagenoillerent ⁊ lui firēt la reuſence ⁊ portoiēt ja la deuise [1] du duc de Lenclastre, le Roy Richart prist larceuesq̃ de Cātorbye ⁊ le tira apart ⁊ plerēt assez lōguemēt ēsemble ⁊ le cōforta moult larceuesq̃ le Roy en lui disāt quil naura [2] nul mal ne lui ne ses compaignōs Le conte de Rotelan se trairoit arriere [3] ainsi cōme sil fust honteux de parler au Roy Adonc prist larceuesq̃ congie du Roy Richart ⁊ sen retourna arriere deuſ le duc de Lenclastre ⁊ lui dist cōmēt il auoit parle au Roy ⁊ quil nestoit point bon quil alast encores deuers le Roy car le Roy disnoit encores ⁊ jeunoit cellui jour pour cause des marfoiches,[4] le duc attendi dehors moult longuemēt a tout son ost moult noblemēt rengie a deux renges tout autour du chastel, le Roy demoura a table assez longuemēt, ⁊ auoit auecq̃s lui ses cinq cōpaignōs assiz ⁊ menoit lost du duc qui estoit autour du chastel si g̃nt noise [5] quil sembloit q̃ tout [6] deust cheoir ne que on ne oist point Dieu tonnāt Et entra pluſs des gens du duc dedens le chastel pour veoir le Roy, ⁊ disoient aux

The Archbishop of Canterbury's interview with the King.

[1] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], *MS. Lebaud*, and *MS. Ambass.*, l'ordre.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, quil nauroit.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, tousiours arriere.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, car le Roy disnoit encores, et estoit a table, et jeunoit cellui jour pour cause des marchesses; *MS.* 10212, [1 b], Et si jeunoit pour cause de la Nostre Dame marchece; *MS. Ambass.*, car il disnoit et jeusnoit celuy jour pour cause des martanches. Query, whether derived from 'marzache, fête de l'Annunciation,' or from 'fouache de mars.' See *Glossary*.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, de trompetes, et dautres instrumens.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, *MS.* 10212, [3 b], and *MS. Ambass.*, que le chastel deust cheoir.

gens du Roy ⁊ des autres seigneurs en leur langaige Mengiez fort ⁊ menez bõne feste Car par Saint George vous arez tãtost trestous copees les testes. Quãt le Roy ot disne ⁊ graces furẽt dictes [1] le Roy descendi du donion en la basse court ⁊ estoit vestu le Roy en guise de prestre ⁊ en sa cõpaignie ses cinq cõpaignõs Et tãtost vint le duc de Lenclastre lui xij[e] ⁊ estoit arme de toutes pieces fors du bacinet ⁊ tenoit un baston blanc en sa main Et quãt il vit le Roy il osta son chappel et senclina un pou. Et quãt il approucha le Roy il senclina moult fort encontre terre Adonc le Roy osta son chapperon ⁊ dist Beau cousin de Lenclastre vous soiez le bien venu Adonc dist le duc de Lenclastre Monſ [2] je suis plus tost venu que vous ne mauez mãder queoir [3] Et vous suis venu aidier a gouuſner le royaume Dengleſtre lequel vous nauez pas bien gouuerne en xxij ans quil a este en vostre gouuernemẽt Si vous aideray par la voulente du cõmũ [4] a le gouuerner Adõc respondi le Roy. De par Dieu Puis parla le duc a leuesque de Carlin ⁊ tous les auſs fors que au conte de Salsebry au quel il fist dire par un sien cheſr [5] q̃ aussi pou cõme il auoit daignie parler a lui quãt il estoit a Paris aussi pou parleroit il a lui Apres ces parolles dictes le duc de Lenclastre dist. Faictes amener les cheuaulx du Roy Adonc amena on vj cheuaulx qui ne valoiẽt mie xxx francs ⁊ monta le Roy sur un ⁊ ses cõpaignõs sur les auſs Et estoit adonc ainsi cõe entre deux ou iij heures apres midi Adonc pty le Roy ⁊ le duc ⁊ tout lost ⁊ sen vindrẽt

Henry's interview with the King.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, et graces furent rendues; *MS. Ambass.*, et graces il eust rendeues.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit 'Monsr.'

[3] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* read, 'envoyé querre;' *MS.* 10212, [3b], omits 'queoir.'

[4] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, du commun d'Angleterre.

[5] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit 'par un sien chevalier.'

King Richard taken to Chester, 19th August.

a Cestre [1] au giste Et quāt ilz furēt a Cestre le duc appella le jeune duc de Clocestre ⁊ le jeune conte Darondel ⁊ leur dist Mes cousins, prenez le Roy qui fist mourir vos peres faulsemēt sanz raison, et prenez des gens auecq̄s vous tant cōme vous vouldrez, ⁊ le menez lassus on chastel ⁊ le gardez ꝑs bien Adonc vindrent au Roy les ij dessus diz ⁊ lui disties [2] Monſr il vous fault venir lassus on chastel Adonc dist le Roy De par Dieu faictez venir mes cōpaignōs Adōc dist le jeune duc de Clocestre, Par Saīt George monſ il nara [3] nul cōpaignō auecq̄s vous ne vous desplaise fors q̄ nous ⁊ nos gens car mōſ le duc ne le vuelt pas Adonc cōmenca le Roy Richart a plourer en disant A mes tres chiers amis ⁊ loyaulx [4] cōpaignōs or voy je bien quil me fault departir de vous Adonc lembraca leuesque de Carlin par une des jambes ⁊ le conte de Salsebry le prist par un des bras ⁊ les trois auſs deca ⁊ dela en criant [5] ⁊ en disant Adieu adieu mon tres cr̄ ſ or veons nous bien que le tēps est venu quil no[9] fault departir [6] Le Roy Richart auoit si grāt dueil ⁊ si grant tristesce au cuer quil demoura bien demie heure sans parler ⁊ losterent dillec ⁊ lemenerēt ceulx qui estoient ordonnez a le garder Quāt les autres furēt demourez les seigneurs de lost ꝑerent au duc quil eust pitie [7] deulx car ilz auoient fait cōme bōne gent doiuēt faire Adonc les fist venir le duc ⁊ leur pardōna tout son maltalent fors q̄ a lescuier Gascoing lequel ne voult oncques laissier lordre du Roy Richart par le cōmādemēt du duc dont le duc fut

The parting of the King and his friends.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, à Orcestre. So throughout.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, dirent.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* reads always 'nanra' instead of 'nara.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'loyaulx.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, en plourant.

[6] *MS. Ambass.*, adonc véons nous bien qu'il nous fault despartir.

[7] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'quil eust pitie.'

moult courroucie ⁊ le fist mener en prison on chastel Dexcestre. Sil le fist mourir ou non je ne scay Deux jours seiourna le duc a Excestre ⁊ tout son ost ⁊ donna cõgie a la moictie de ses gens por ce quil en auoit trop celui sembloit ⁊ que le pais ne les pouoit soustenir celui sẽbloit ⁊ que le pais en estoit trop chargie. le Roy demoura on chastel tous ces deux jours sanz cõpaignie De ses gemissemẽs ⁊ cõplaintes nul nen scet riens fors que ceulx qui estroictement [1] le gardoient.

King Richard leaves Chester, and arrives at Lichfield, 24th August.

LE xxv^e^ jour du dit moys [2] Daoust pty le duc de Excestr ⁊ tout lost ⁊ ẽmenerẽt le Roy auecqs eulx ⁊ vindrẽt a une ville qui a nom Licnit [3] ⁊ en celle ville se cuida eschapper le Roy Richart mais Dieu ne le voult pas dilec en auant fu garde si estroictemẽt cõme un larron ou un murdrier De la party le duc ⁊ tout lost ⁊ sen vindrent a une ville qui a nom Couuentoy [4] Et sachiez que depuis que le duc party Dexcestre ⁊ sa cõpaignie les Galoiz lui firent grant dõmage Car quãque ilz pouoiẽt atraper Denglois ilz tuoient ⁊ desroboient [5] sanz remede Le duc passa tout le plus tost qui pout tout le pais de Gales car il doubtoit q̃ les Galoiz par laide dacũ de son ost ne rescouissẽt [6] le Roy Richart Quãt il vint a Couuentoy il seiourna iij jours Les nouuell estoiẽt ja a Londres ⁊ par tout le pais q̃ le Roy estoit prins ⁊ que le duc lamenoit a Londres. vj ou vij des plus notables bourgeois de Londres vindrẽt au deuãt du duc ⁊ de son ost ⁊

Stops three days at Coventry.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit 'estroictement.'

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, le propre jour xxv^e^ jour du dit mois parti.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Vincit; *MS. Ambass.*, Ciren.

[4] *MS. Ambass.*, Conventry; *MS.* 10212, 3 b, Corntoy.

[5] *MS. Ambass.*, ils les tuoient ou les roboient sans remède.

[6] *MS. Ambass.*, ne receussent; *MS. Lebaud*, ne recoyssẽt.

Deputation of the Londoners to Henry at Coventry.

saluerēt le duc moult hūblemēt de par le cōmū de Londres ⁊ de par le cōmū de tout le royaume Dengleſtre, disant Tres chĕr ſ le cōmū de Londres ⁊ toutes les cōmunes du royaume Dengleſtre vous saluent[1] plus de cent mille fois ⁊ vous supplient ꝰs hūblemēt que vous faciez tātost coper la teste au Roy Richart sanz le mener plus auant Adonc respondi le duc de Lenclastre, Mes amis certes je nen feray riens car se seroit grāt villenie a moy ⁊ a tous les nobles Dengleſtre de faire mourir le Roy sanz jugemēt maiz je le menray a Londres ⁊ la sera jugie par parlemēt ce q̄ len en deura faire Quant ce vint q̄ le duc fu party de Couuentoy et quil ot cheuauche deux jours en alant a Londres quāt il appcha Londres a ij lieues pres le mahier[2] de Londres a tout le cōmun vindrēt au deuāt du duc ⁊ portoit on lespee deuāt le mahieur cōme[3] se ce fust un duc ⁊ y auoit moult belle cōpaignie Et tātost q̄ le dit mahieu ⁊ sa cōpaignie appucherēt le duc ilz descendirēt des cheuaulx ⁊ saluerēt le duc moult hūblemēt et crierent tous a une voix Viue Henry le noble duc de Lēclastre q̄ a conq̄s toute Engleſtre en moins dun moys tel seigneur est bien digne destre Roy Or est acōplie la ꝑphecie Merlin qui dit ainsi Lan xiiij^{c} un mains au chastel triangle sera trahy un Roy apres ce quil aura regne puissāmēt xxij ans Quāt le cry des gens fu apaisie le duc de Lenclastre hucha[4] le conte Darondel et ceulx qui auoiēt le Roy Richart en garde Adonc vindrēt deuāt lui ⁊ amenerēt le Roy cōme se ce fust un larron Et quāt le duc vit le Roy le duc descendi de son cheual ⁊ vint contre le Roy ⁊ osta son chappel en disant, Monſ^{r} descendez veez cy

The Mayor and the companies of London meet Henry.

Merlin's prophecy.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, Tres chier sires ilz vous saluent.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, le mahieu; *MS. Ambass.*, le mayeur; *MS.* 10212, [3b], maihir.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'come se ce fust,' down to 'sa cōpaignie approucherēt le duc.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, appella.

vos bons amis de Londres qui vous viennēt veoir Adonc descendi le Roy Richart dun petit cheual quil cheuauchoit ⁊ auoit le visaige si couuert de lermes que a paines le pouoit on cōgnoistre Adonc se mist le duc au coste senestre du Roy ⁊ dist au mahieu [1] ⁊ a ceulx de Londres ⸗ Meſſ[s] ⁊ mes amis vez cy le Roy Richart [2] je le vous baille en garde ⁊ le vous recōmāde de faictez en a vostre voulente [3] Et veez cy mes beaulx cousins de Clocestre ⁊ Darōdel qui seront auecq̄s vous ⸗ Adonc le mahieu ⁊ les autres prindrēt le Roy Richart et lemenerent a Wasmonstier ⁊ estoit ēuiron vespres Le duc de Lenclastre ⁊ sa cōpaignie vindrent a Londres par la maiſ porte de la ville ꝑmy la grant rue tout droit a Saint Pol et menoiēt si grant noise toutes manieres de gens ꝑmy la ville [4] en disāt Viue le duc de Lenclastre ⸗ et les trōpetes ⁊ les instrumiēs ⁊ les sains ⁊ les cloches des mōstiers [5] sōnoyent tellemēt q̄on ne peust oir la mie Dieu tonnāt Le duc descendi droit a la porte de leglise de Saīt Pol [6] ⁊ vint deuāt le grāt autel ⁊ la fist sa priere ⸗ ⁊ puis vint a la tumbe de son pere ⁊ la ploura moult fort ⸗ puis party dillec ⁊ vint monter a cheual et party de la ville ⁊ sala logier dehors [7] en lostel des Templiers Et lēdemain bien matin oy le Roy Richart la messe a Wastmonstier a sa requeste ⁊ puis fu mene en la Tour de Londres par les deux dessus [8] nōmez le jeune duc de Clocestre ⁊ le jeune conte Darondel ⸗ Et quāt il cheuauchoit ꝑmy Londres sur un petit cheualet en le

King Richard's humiliation,

and arrival at Westminster, 1st September.

Henry visits his father's tomb.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, au coste senestre du Roy et du mahieu. Et dist a ceulx de Londres.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, monseigneur le Roy Richart.

[3] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, et vous le recommande; faites en vostre volonté; (*Lebaud*, voulente.)

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, aual la ville.

[5] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* read, 'et les trompettes et instruments et les cloches de la ville.'

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, a la porte du monast' de Saint Pol.

[7] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'dehors.'

[8] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, par les deux seigneurs.

King Richard imprisoned in the Tower of London.

menāt en prison il auoit grāt place autour de lui afin que chascun le peust veoir, et [1] auoit un garcon derriere lui qui le mōstroit au doit [2] en disant Veez cy le Roy Richart qui a tant fait de biens au royaume Dengleſtre, Vſite est q̄ les aucūs en auoient grāt pitie ⁊ les autres en auoyēt g̃nt joye, ⁊ le maudisoient moult fort en leur langaige ⁊ disoient Or somes nous bien vanchiez du mauuais [3] bastart qui nous a si mauuaisemēt gouuſnez Ainsi fu mene jusq̄s en la Tour de Londres.[4]

ITEM lendemain sen ala le duc de Lenclastre au chastel et le duc de Yorc, ⁊ le [5] conte de Rotelan, et q^nt le duc de Lenclastre fut au chastel il cōmanda au conte Darondel quil feist venir le Roy Richart Et le conte ala au Roy faire son messaige Et q^nt le Roy ot entendu que le duc le mādoit quil alast parler a lui adonc respondi le Roy, Arondel va dire a Henry de Lenclastre de p moy q̄ je nen feray riens ⁊ sil veult parler a moy quil viengne deuers moy ⁊ au-

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.* omit this sentence, commencing, 'Et avoit un garçon.' It has been subsequently added in the margin of the *MS. Lebaud.*

[2] *MS.* 10212, [3b], au doy (doigt).

[3] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Ambass.*, du petit bastard.

[4] The MSS. that have not the foregoing account of the King's capture, contain in its place the following paragraph, in nearly the same words: 'Et est verite que quant le Roy Richart retorna Dirlande le duc de Lencastre le print luy et ses gens lesquelz furēt tonz desrobez et destroussez. Et commanda le duc que le Roy fust mene on chastel de Londres et en fu baille la garde au conte Darondel et que sur sa vie le gardast bien Et ordonna au dit conte L lances et C archers pour le garder Et le Roy demanda au conte Darondel pour quoy il le gardoit de si pres Et le conte respondit au Roy Tres chier sire pardonnez moy car monseigñr le duc mon cousin le me commande a faire sur ma vie si ne vous en veille desplaire Et le duc de Lencastre sen alla logier a Saint Jehan et ses gens a Saint Berthelemer dehors Londres Et celx de Londres vindrent encont' de luy a pie et a cheual et le receurent moult richement.'

[5] *MS.* V adds, 'duc Daumalle.'

tremēt ne vueil je parler a lui. Le conte dist au duc sa responce Adonc lui ⁊ tous les aus seigneurs alerēt la ou le Roy estoit. Et por certain la nestoit nulz des seigneurs qui feissent reuerence aucūe au Roy fors seullemēt le duc de Lēclastr le quel osta son chappel ⁊ salua le Roy moult hūblemēt[1] ⁊ dist le duc de Lenclastre au Roy. Monsr veez cy le duc Darmarle vostre cousin ⁊ le mien ⁊ son pere vostre oncle. lesquelz veullēt parler a vous A quoy le Roy respondi Cousin ilz ne sont point bon assez[2] a parler a moy. Et pria le duc au Roy disāt Monsr il vous plaise eulx oir parler a vous Adonc respondi le Roy De par Dieu. et demāda le Roy a son oncle le duc de Yorc[3] Tu villain que vuelz tu dire a moy. et tu traitre de Rotelan tu nes pas digne ne bons assez por parler a moy ne de porter nom de duc ne de conte ne de chīr. toy ⁊ le villain ton pere mauez mauuaisemēt trahy entre vous deux Je prie a Dieu ⁊ a Saint Jehan Baptiste que maudite soit leure que toy ⁊ le villain ton pere fustez oncques nez Et par toy ⁊ par ton faulx conseil fu mon oncle de Lenclastre[4] mis a mort. Ha je puis bien dire helas quant je tamay oncques tant faulx traitre[5] car par toy sera destruit le royaume Dengletre jen suis ctain[6] Et le conte de Rotelan respondi au Roy que de ce quil disoit il mentoit ⁊ gecta son chapperon droit deuant ses piez ⁊ le Roy gecta le chapperon ij ou iij piez[7]

Henry, the Duke of York, and Rutland visit the King in the Tower.

King Richard charges York and Rutland with base treason.

[1] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'moult humblement.'

[2] *MS. Y*, dignez; *MS. O*, Ilz ne sont pas dignes a parler a moy non estes vous auxi.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Diork.

[4] *MSS. Lebaud*, *O*, and *Y*, Glocestre; *MS.* 10212, 3 b, Clocestre.

[5] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'et desloyal; alez vous en le grāt diable vous puist emport';' *MSS. O* and *Y*, Va au diable qui te puisse emporter.

[6] *MS. Le Beau* makes the King to say also, 'car riens ne vous desplaist si non que le royaume d'Angleterre est paisible à ses voisins.' The writer, Le Beau, has interpolated many such passages.

[7] *MS. Y*, deux ou trois pas loing de lui; *MS. O*, deux ou trois foiz de long de la salle.

de long ⁊ dist le Roy au conte de Rotelā, Traitre je suis Roy et ton seigneur et ēcores demourray Roy ⁊ seray plus grāt seigneur que je ne fus oncques en despit de tous mes ennemis Et pour ce tu nes pas digne de parler a moy Adonc le duc de Lenclastre deffendi au conte de Rotelan quil ne fust si hardy de parler plus au Roy ou il commanderoit au cōnestable ⁊ au mareschal quilz meissent la main a lui tellement quil sen repentiroit Et apres ces poſt le Roy demāda au duc de Lenclastre,[1] Pour quoy me tenez vo[9] de si pres garde de gens darmes Je vueil sauoir se vous me tenez pour vostre seigneur ou pour vostre Roy Dēgleterre ou quelle chose vous voulez faire de moy, Et le duc respondi au Roy Il est verite que je vous tiens pour Roy ⁊ pour seign[r] Maiz il est ordonne par tout le conseil de vostre royaume po[r] vous garder ⁊ tenir jusques au jour du plain parlemēt, ⁊ le Roy respondi De par Dieu, et cōmāda que on feist venir la Royne sa fēme parler a lui, et le duc respondi Pardōnez le moy monſ il est deffendu par le conseil Adonc fu le Roy mōlt courroucie maiz il nen pouoit[2] autre chose faire et dist au duc que on lui faisoit tort ⁊ a la Royne aussi Et le duc respondi au Roy Il ne peut encores estre autremēt mōſ tāt q̄ le plemēt soit passe[3] Et quāt le Roy entendi la response du duc de Lenclastre il fu si courroucie que a paine pouoit il parler et ala xxiij pas sanz parler aual la chambre[4] Et est verite que quāt le Roy cōm̄ca a parler il parla ainsi O Dieu de Paradis[5] O Vierge Marie[6] O Saīt Jehan Baptiste ⁊

[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Y*, bn̄ felonneusement; *MS. O*, t's felonneusement.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud*, O, and *Y*, il ne le pouoit admender.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, soit fait.

[4] 'Et ala xxiij pas sanz parler aual la chambre' is wanting in all the other MSS. but *MS. Lebaud*, which reads, 'et ala xxiiij pas sans parler aual la chambre.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, O Dieu de par Dieu.

[6] *MS. O* inserts, 'O glorieux martir St. Thōas.'

tous les saĩs de Paradis cõmẽt pouez vo⁹ souffꝛ̃ le grãt tort ⁊ la grant traison que ces gens cy ont fait ⁊ veulẽt faire contre moy ⁊ encõtre ma ꝑs chiere dame ma fẽme ⁊ fille de mon tres chr̃ ⁊ ame seigneur ⁊ pere le noble Roy de France lequel scet bien pou de nostre poure estat[1] ⁊ en quel dang̃ nous sõmes ⁊ en quel point Or voy[2] je bien que vous serez trestous[3] faulx traitres encontre Dieu ma dame ⁊ moy ce vueil je ꝓuer encontre quatre des meilleurs de vous tous de mon corps[4] cõe loyal chl̃r q̃ je suis Car il est verite que monꝑ fu tout son temps bon ⁊ loyal chl̃r ⁊ je ne forfis oncq̃s cheualerie, ⁊ mon taion[5] le Roy Edouart me dõna la courõne en sa vye[6] Dieu lui face mercy Et apres lui fuz je courõne Roy par le conseil des royaulx, ⁊ de tout le pais,[7] ⁊ entre vous vous mauez tenu poʳ Roy xxij ans Cõmẽt estez vous si hardiz de moy tenir ainsi en destroit[8] Je diz que vous faitez encontre moy cõe faulses gens ⁊ faulses traitres doiuẽt faire encontre moy ⁊ encõtre leur seignʳ Ce vueil je prouuer ⁊ combatre cõtre quatre des meilleurs de vous trestous ⁊ veez la mon gaige Adonc le Roy Richart gecta sus son gaige, son chapperon,[9] Et le duc de Lenclastre se mist a genoulx ⁊ pria au Roy quil teinst sa paix[10] jusq̃s au jour du parlement et la monstreroit chũn sa raison Au moins beaulx seigneurs[11] pour Dieu que je voise

King Richard challenges the lords.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, petit estat.

[2] *MSS. O* and *Y*, voyge.

[3] *MSS. O* and *Y*, trestouz; *MS. Lebaud*, tous.

[4] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'de mon corps.'

[5] *MS. Y*, mon gñt sire; *MS. O* omits the word 'taion,' and has a blank.

[6] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'par le conseil des royaulx.'

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, de tous les seigñrs et cõmunes Danglet're.

[8] *MS. O*, ainst a destroit; *MS. Y*, ainzie adestroit.

[9] *MS. Lebaud*, gecta son chapperon a t're pour gaige.

[10] *MS. Lebaud*, quil ne se courroucast point et quil attendist.

[11] *MSS. Lebaud, O*, and *Y* omit the passage commencing 'Beaulx seigneurs,' and ending 'on ne vous fera que raison.'

en jugemēt ꝯ que je soye oy en mes raisons ꝯ que je puisse respondre a tout ce que len vouldra dire contre moy Adonc dist le duc, Monſr naiez paour on ne vous fera que raison ꝯ print le duc cōgie au Roy car la nestoit nul des seigneurs qui osast parler ne mot dire.[1]

The meeting of parliament.

ITEM apres ce cōmenca le parlemēt[2] ꝯ aussi tost que Henry[3] de Lenclastre entra en parlemēt la estoiēt assiz[4] tous les prelaz de tout le royaume cest assauoir xviij euesques et xxxij abbez royaulx sans les autres ꝑlaz, Et quāt le duc entra en parlemēt la vindrent deux arceuesques deuāt lui ꝯ ses deux freres[5] et trois ducz vindrent bras a braz apres lui ꝯ vestuz tous dune liuree et ses iiij enfans alerēt deuāt lui[6] le duc de Sudrien[7] le duc Darmarle ꝯ le duc Dexcestre[8] frere du Roy Richart Et quāt le duc entra en parlemēt sire Thomas de Persy sasist[9] tout droit deuāt le duc le quel auoit une blanche verge en sa main ꝯ cria Veez Henry de Lenclastre Roy Dengleterre Adonc crierent tous les seignrs prelaz ꝯ le cōmū de Londres[10] Ouy ouy nous voulons que Henry

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[1] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Y*, ne mot ne demy.

[2] *MS.* 10212, [3b], le parlement pour juger le Roy.

[3] *MS.* 10212, [3b], Henry le Roy.

[4] *MS. Y*, Et auxi toust que Henry duc de Lancastre entra en dit parlement il se assist Et la estoient, &c.; *MS. Ambass.*, la estoient jà assis.

[5] *MS.* 10212, [3b], reads, 'deux archevesques qui vindrent avec le duc et ses deux freres.' This MS. has many similar variations, which do not affect the sense of the narrative; but as it is a late copy, of the time of Louis XI., I have not thought it of sufficient authority to warrant their insertion.

[6] *MS.* 10506, et la aussi estoient le duc.

[7] *MS. Ambass.*, Surdieu.

[8] *MS. Ambass.*, d'Orcestre.

[9] *MS.* 10506, ala.

[10] *MS. O*, le cōmun Dāglet're et de Londres; *MS. Y*, 'le cōmun' only; *MS. Lebaud*, tout le cōmun et conseil de Londres, C'est vray cest vray car.

duc de Lēcastre soit nostre Roy ⁊ nul autre [1] Adonc le duc ala seoir en la chaiere de justice ains [2] quil fust courōne on lieu ou le Roy estoit acoustume de seoir [3] Item le ꝑmier point q̃ le duc feist monstrer [4] ce fu cōmēt il fu venu on pais poʳ le prouffit du royaume ⁊ du peuple et pour son droit heritaige ⁊ fist monstrer cōment le Roy Richart auoit forfait sa vie ⁊ sa courōne [5] Et dist le duc la raison pour quoy car il ⁊ son conseil ont fait mourir les deux meilleurs hōmes darmes de tout le pais sans cause ⁊ sans raison, ꝑmieremt ont ilz fait mourir mon bel oncle le duc de Clocestre filz du bon [6] Roy Edouart, et mon cousin le conte Darondel, Et aussi il auoit donne a ferme le royaume quant il sen ala en Yrlande a iiij cheualiers des quieulx [7] je enuoyay les trois testes a ceulx de Londres, et le iiijᵉ est en ꝑson en vostre cōmandemt, ⁊ je dy quāt le Roy fait bouter [8] feu en son royaume ou fait destruire ville ou villaige par feu cōme a fait le Roy Richart [9] je diz quil a forfait sa courōne, Et sachiez q̃ se je ne fusse venu [10] le royaume fust en auenture destre perdu Entre vous seigneurs jugiez ⁊ donez de ce droit jugement Et le conseil du pais ⁊ du parlemt [11] dist Demain monſʳ noˢ vous en respondrons Ainsi ne plus ne moins fu la ꝑmiere journee du duc de Lenclastre et de son parlement.

Henry seats himself on the throne.

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[1] *MS. Le Beau*, Et sans autre élection ne raison dire ne oyr, le Roy Henry s'assist.

[2] *MS.* 10506, avant; *MS. Lebaud*, aincois.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'quant on tenoit le parlement selon la coustume du pays.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, exposer.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, forfait sa couronne.

[6] *MS. O*, du noble Roy Edouart.

[7] *MS. Y*, de quoy.

[8] *MS. Y*, metre.

[9] *MS. Ambass.* omits 'cōme a fait le Roy Richart.'

[10] *MS. Ambass.* omits the word 'venu.'

[11] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et du parlement.'

ITEM lendemain quant le duc fut assiz en la chaiere[1] de justice ou le Roy Richart fu acoustume de seoir si cōmāda ꝑ un duc a un cheualier[2] nōme sire Bauduin Piquet[3] quil demādast droit aux seigneurs du conseil ⁊ a ceulx qui estoient la de par tout le cōmū[4] du royaume ⁊ Il est verite que leuesque de Carlin[5] leq̄l estoit de lordre de Saint Benoist se leua de son siege et demāda congie de parler ⁊[6] Et quāt il ot cōgie il cōmenca[7] ainsi ⁊ Entre vous seigneurs[8] auisez vous ains[9] que vous donnez jugemēt de ce que monſr le duc si a monstre ou fait monstrer[10] Et je dy quil nen a icy nes un[11] qui soit bon ⁊ digne[12] de jugier tel seigneur cōme est mōſr le Roy le quel nous auons tenu pour nostre seigneur[13] lespace de xx ans ou plus Et je vous diray raison pour quoy Il nestoit ne il est si faulx traitre ne si mauuais murdrier[14] en ce monde sil estoit pris pour prisonnier en la main[15] de justice au moins seroit amene[16] deuāt la justice pour oir son jugemēt ⁊ Et entre vous seigneurs vous auez bien entendu[17] ce que monſ le duc

The Bishop of Carlisle's speech in favour of Richard.

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[1] *MS. Ambass.*, la chaise.

[2] *MS. Ambass.*, si commanda a un duc par un chevalier, nomme sir Baudin Piquet.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Baudoyn Picquot; *MS. O*, Baudouin Picquet; *MS. Le Beau*, Baudoyn Pignot.

[4] *MS. Ambass.*, de par tout le pais et commun de royaume.

[5] *MS. Ambass.*, Callin.

[6] *MS.* 10212, [3b], de parler pour le Roy Richart.

[7] *MS. Ambass.*, il demanda ainsi.

[8] *MS. Ambass.*, messieurs.

[9] *MS. O*, auisez vous bien ains; *MS. Y*, vous enczois (pro aincois, aussitôt, avant que) donner jugement; *MS.* 10212, [3b], avant; *MS. Lebaud*, aduisez vous de donner jugement de ce que mons' a cy monstre ou fait monstrer.

[10] *MS. O*, ou fait dire.

[11] *MS. Lebaud*, nul.

[12] *MS. Ambass.*, ne digne.

[13] *MS. Lebaud*, tenu pour Roy.

[14] *MS. Lebaud*, Il nest nul si faulx ne si traitre murdrier; *MS. O*, quil nest nul si faulx meurt'ir traistre ne larron; *MS. Ambass.*, il ne fut oncques ne est si mauvais murtrier ni si faulx traistre.

[15] *MS. Ambass.*, en cas de justice.

[16] *MS. Lebaud*, qu'il ne fust amenez deuant la justice, pour oir son jugement; so *MS. O.*

[17] *MS. Lebaud*, vouz auez oy.

a monstre ⁊ dit ⁊ mis sus[1] le Roy Richart, et me semble[2] que entre vous voulez dōner jugemēt ⁊ cōdampnacōn au Roy Richart sans auoir sa response[3] ou sans ce quil soit en presence Item je diz que monſ le duc a plus mespris[4] ⁊ failly contre le Roy Richart que na le Roy contre lui, car on puet bien sauoir[5] que monſr le duc fu bany x ans par le conseil du royaume ⁊ par le jugemēt de son propre pere[6] pour la grant chose[7] que ilz firent lui ⁊ le duc de Noruolt ⁊ est reuenu au pais sans la voulente du Roy,[8] et aussi dy je quil a fait encores piz que il est assiz en la chaiere de justice ⁊ q̄ nul seignr ny doit estre assiz se non le droit Roy Dengleterę courōne, por ce diz je que vous deuez faire venir[9] le Roy Richart en ꝑnce de plain parlement pour laissier[10] monstrer sa raison[11] ⁊ pour oir sil vouldroit dōner sa couronne au duc[12] ou non Adonc cōmanda le duc de Lenclastre au mareschal quil meist la main a leuesque ⁊ quil fust mene en la prison de Saint Alban, Et apres ce q̄ leuesque fu mene en prison le duc fist demander jugemēt du Roy Richart Adonc respondi le recorde de ceulx de Londres[13] Seigneurs il est ordone de par tous les prelaz ⁊ par tous les seigneurs du conseil ⁊ du cōmun du royaume Den-

The Bishop committed to the custody of the Abbot of St. Alban's.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, le duc a dit cont'.

[2] *MS. Ambass.* omits 'et me semble,' down to 'Roy Richart,' inclusive.

[3] *MS. O* adds, 'sur les cas proposes de par de monsr le duc.'

[4] *MSS. Ambass.* and *Lebaud* omit 'mespris et.'

[5] *MS.* 10212, 3b, chacun sçait bien; *MS. O*, car il est vroy.

[6] *MS. Y*, peuple.

[7] *MS. O*, discort; *MS.* 10212, 3b, meffait.

[8] *MSS.* 10212, 3b, *O*, and *Y*, sans la congie du Roy.

[9] *MS. Ambass.* omits 'por ce diz je que vous devez faire venir.'

[10] *MS. Lebaud*, pour lui laissier monstrer sa raison et pour savoir.

[11] *MS. Ambass.* adds, 'et son droit.'

[12] *MS. O*, pour est' ouy en ses raisons sauoir sil voudroit demept' de sa couronne au duc de Lencastre.

[13] *MSS. Lebaud* and 10212, 3b, read, 'du conseil de la commune.'

The sentence upon Richard.

gleterre que Jehan de Bordeaulx[1] qui fu nōme Roy Richart Dengletře est jugie ⁊ cōdampne a estre en une prison royal[2] et le jugemēt est ainsi quil ara le meilleur pain[3] ⁊ la meilleur viande que on pourra finer pour or ou pour argent Et sil venoit aucūe noise[4] de gens darmes pour lui secourir il seroit le ꝑmier qui en mourroit Ainsi fu faulsement jugie par le dit parlement.[5]

Dissensions between the lords.

ITEM lendemain[6] iij^e jour du parlemēt le cōmū requist au duc de Lenclastre pour la mort de iij ducz cest assauoir le duc de Sudrien conte de Kent le duc Darmarle cōte de Rotelan ⁊ le duc Dexcestre conte Dontinton frere du Roy Richart[7] Item que[8] le seigneur de Fouatre appelle en champ le duc Darmarle cōte de Rotelan[9] ⁊ lui mist sus le seigneur de Fouatre quil estoit faulx ⁊ desloyaulx enuers le Roy Richart ⁊ traitre au duc de Lenclastre ⁊ a tout le royaume ⁊ traitre a tous les deux costez[10] Item le viel Mo̾bray[11] appella Montagu lequel estoit cōte de Salsebry, Mouubrelay lui mist sus quil auoit este traitre au Roy Richart ⁊ au duc[12] ⁊ la furēt gectez on

[1] *MS. Ambass.*, Jehan de Londres dis de Bourdeaulx.

[2] *MS. O*, a est' en prison perpetuelle.

[3] *MS. Ambass.* adds, 'vin;' so *MSS. Lebaud, O, Y*, and *Le Beau*.

[4] *MS. O*, 'noaest,' pro noise.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, Ainsi fu jugé par le dit parlement.

[6] *MS. Y* reads, 'xiij^e jour;' *MS. O*, 'xiiij jour;' but the 'x' has been subsequently crossed over slightly.

[7] Instead of the preceding sentence, *MS. Le Beau* reads, 'Quant vint le lendemain grant murmure s'esmeut entre plusieurs. Car il y eu avoit grant foison qui courrouces estoient du grant tort qu'on lui faisoit, mais monstrer ne l'osoient à plain.'

[8] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'le dit jour.'

[9] *MS. O* calls here (in error) the 'duc Darmalle' 'compte de Homptenton.'

[10] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et traitre a tous les deux costez.'

[11] *MS. Y* has an error here, and reads, 'le veil Montagu appelle on champ Moubray lequel fut conte de Salbery.'

[12] *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'et fut le seigneur de Suffoke qui apella

More than forty pledges thrown on the floor of the house.

dit parlemēt plus de xl gaiges des seigneurs pour appeller lun lautre en champ de bataille ⸝[1] ⁊ cħun mist sus lun a lautre faulsete ⁊ traison ⸝[2] Item il en y auoit un nōme Hale[3] le quel auoit aidie a tuer le duc de Clocestre le quel fu mene deuāt parlemēt ⁊ cōgnut le fait et tantost il fu traine[4] ij lieues Dengleterre ⁊ sur pies on lui copa le corps[5] ⁊ lui fist on dōner a boire ⁊ parla Et on lui ota les boyaulx hors de son corps ⸝ ⁊ apres on lui coupa la teste ⁊ puis fust escartelez.[6]

ITEM le duc de Lenclastre pardōna a tous les seigneurs leurs meffaiz que ceulx du royaume leur vouloient mectre sus faulx ⸝ [7]au conte de Salsebry ⁊ au viel Mobrelay ces deux seigneurs furēt jugiez a combatre en une ville qui a nom Nieuchastel[8] Et fist le duc de Lē-clasť liiij[9] cheualiers le Samedi deuant quil fu couronē[10] en la salle du chastel de Londres les iiij estoient ses enfans ⁊ les deux sēs jeunes freres le vij^{e} cħlr fu le conte Darondel le viij^{e} fu le jeune conte de Staf-

Henry creates a batch of knights, Saturday, 11th October.

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le duc d'Armale en disant qu'il estoit faulx et traistre envers le Roi Richard, et au duc de Lancastre aussi.'

[1] *MS. O*, lx gages po^{r} appelez lun laut' de faulcete et traison.

[2] *MS. Le Beau* inserts, 'Bien subtillement ouura le duc de Lencastre quant il vint tous ses seigneurs ainsi mettre sur l'un à l'autre trahison tout pour le Roi Richard; car il leur dist: Seigneurs, apaisez vous, je vous en prie, car je vous pardonne tout ce qu'encontre moy povez avoir meffaict si vous tenez doresnavant de mon accord. Et je vous seray bon garant encontre tous.'

[3] *MS. O*, Labbe; *MS Y*, Halle; so *MS. Lebaud*.

[4] *MS. Y*, et tantoust fut traynee et pendu Et tantoust quil fut pendu on couppa la corde, et fut assis en une chaise et le ouurit len le ventre et lui donna len a boire et puis parla,' etc.

[5] *MS.* 10212,$^{3\,b}$, la corde.

[6] *MS. Y* adds, 'et la teste fut portee a Calais la ou le duc mourit et fut mise sur la porte ou bout dune lance.'

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, mais le conte de Salsebery et le.

[8] *MSS. Lebaud* and *O*, Neufchastell.

[9] *MS. Le Beau*, cinquante.

[10] *MS. Lebaud*, auant le Samedi quil fut couronne.

fort[1] le ix[e] fu meſſ[e] France de la Court[2] ⁊ les autres chīrs je ne cōgnoissoye point Item lendemain apres le duc cheuaucha a tout ses nouueaulx chīrs pmy Lōdres jusques a Wastmōstier, ⁊ les nouueaulx chīrs furēt vestuz tout un,[3] ⁊ semblerēt touz estre p̄stres Et lendemain fut il le jour Saint Edouart Adonc vint le duc a pie vestu en habit royal de la salle de Wastmōſt jusques en leglise,[4] ⁊ furēt toutes les rues couu̅tes de bons drapz royez[5] ou il passa, ⁊ touz les p̄laz alerēt deuāt lui a tout mistrez, ⁊ leuesque de Londres[6] porta le sacremēt deuāt lui ⁊ chanta la messe ⁊ fu courōne le duc de deux arceuesques Et au reuenir hors de leglise vint le Roy tout courōne[7] Et en alāt on lui porta un drap de soye a iiij bastons a iiij clochetes dargent sonnās Et au deuāt de lui cheuauchoies ses iiij filz et ala apres sire Thomas de Persy Apres le mareschal en une haulte selle tout arme, et a tout une masse dargent en sa main ⁊ apres le connestable Et quāt le Roy Henry fu assiz on fist un cry, Oez de par le Roy et de par le cōnestable et de par le grāt maistre dostel[8] sire Thomas de Persy que a toutes manieſs de gens estranges soit deffēdue la court et la salle du Roy au jour duy fors aux gens quilz sont au duc de Berry[9] ⁊ au duc Dorleans ceulx soient les tres bñ venus en

Henry's coronation, St. Edward's day, 13th October.

[1] *MS. O*, Suffoulc; *MS. Le Beau*, Stanfort; *MS. Lebaud*, Caffort.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud, O*, and *Le Beau* make the ninth knight 'sire Guillē (et Gilles) Boutillier,' the tenth 'le fils de sa marastre,' and the eleventh 'Franco (et Franque) de la Court.' Chastelain, after 'sire Guillē Bouteill'r,' adds the words, 'nōr trompeton.' *MS. Lebaud*, nōme Trompeton.

[3] *MS. Y*, vestuz dune liuree; *MS. Lebaud*, vestuz dune liuree come p'stres.

[4] *MS. Y*, en leiglise a Saint Poul. The MS. is not supported in this reading.

[5] *MS. Y*, raiez; *MS. O*, roiaulx.

[6] *MS. Y*, de Lune.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, et au reuenir de leglise estoit le Roy couronne.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, de par le connestable et mareschaulx et aussi de par les maistres dostel que a toutes manieres.

[9] *MS. Y*, au Roy Henry et les gens au duc Dorleans.

la court du Roy ⁊ le Roy cōmāda que on leur feist ſs bōne chiere, ⁊ quilz fussent seruiz apres le Roy et aps ceulx de Londres ⁊ auāt que les auſs Car cest la voulente du Roy[1] Et il est verite que le roy des heraulx tint un petit sachet[2] en sa main[3] et les auſs crioient[4] largesce.

Item[5] Waldem qui auoit este ⁊ fu arceuesque de Cantorbye estoit bany Icellui arceuesque Waldem fu mis en arrest ⁊ auoit une belle mere demourāt a Saint Berthelemy[6] Les gens du Roy nouuel ne laisserēt a sa dce mere ne a son enfant[7] ne robe ne vesselle ne maile ne denier ⁊ aussi fist prendre le Roy tout lauoir de leuesque de Carlin le quel auoit si bien ple au Roy pour le Roy Richart en parlement.

Arrest of Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury.

ITEM la veille[8] de Toussains au point du jour le Roy Henry ēuoya au Roy Richart un cheual noir[9] et tout habit noir por lēuoyer a tout en la ꝑson ou il deuoit estre mis pour tousiours mais ainsi cōme il fu cōdamne Et quāt le Roy Richart vit les noirs esperons et tout habit noir adonc demāda[10] Pour qui portez vous ces noirs esperons, Le vallet respondi Tres chr ꝺ cest pour vous ⁊ demāda le Roy Qui sont ceulx qui vēdrōt aueqs moy,[11] Le varlet respondi que ce

[1] *MS. Y* inserts, 'Et fut serui le Roy a table a cheval.' I suspect he alludes to the champion.

[2] *MS. Y*, s'let (scelet); *MS. Lebaud*, un petit sac ent' ses mains.

[3] *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'dont il jectoit argent en criant largesse.'

[4] *MS. Le Beau*, a hault cri; *MS. O*, crioient fort largesse.

[5] *MS. Y* omits this paragraph; *MSS. Lebaud* and 10212, [3b], qui avoit este banny.

[6] *MS. O* adds, 'qui fut pillier' (robbed); *MS. Le Beau*, tollu, et a qui on ne lessa rens ne robe ne vesselle ne au dit archeuesque maille ne denier.

[7] *MS. Lebaud*, ne a son dit filz.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, la vegille.

[9] *MS. O*, et ungs esperons noir; *MS. Y* has only 'ung cheual noir.'

[10] *MSS. O* and *Y*, demanda au varlet.

[11] *MS. Lebaud*, qui vendra auec moy.

ſoyent ceulx de Kent q̃ vous garderont,[1] Helas or voy je bien cōmēt il en va car ce sōt les plus grās ennemis que jaye. Va dire a Henry de Lenclastre de par moy q̃ je suis loyal cheĩr, & q̃ oncq̃s ne forfiz cheualerie et quil menuoye esperons de cheĩr ou auſmēt je ne cheuaucheray point.[2] Adonc le varlet lui apporta uns esperons dorez & un g̃nt cornet,[3] & un espie & monta a cheual le cornet pendant a son col & lespie en sa main Ainsi ala le Roy Richart de Lōdres a Grauesorde[4] disner le dit jour en la cōpaignie de ses ennemis lesquelz le menerēt tellemēt cōme sil eust este un forestier de boys[5] & la le garderēt.[6] Et le Roy fist tenir les dessus diz seigneurs ix sepmaines en prison depuis quil ot fait prēdre leur auoir Et labbe de Wastmonstier en respondi & demoura plege pour les diz seigneurs corps pour corps a les deliurer au dit Roy Henry a sa voulente on cas q̃ on lui deliurast les diz trois seigneurs a son abbe a Wastmonsſ, lesquelz furēt deliurez tous trois a labbe & la auoyent ilz belles chambres & dist on a ceulx[7] Voꝰ viurez de p labbe hōnourableñt pour lamour du Roy Richart & honnestement.[8]

Richard taken, by Gravesend, to Ledes Castle.

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[1] *MSS. O* and *Le Beau*, ces sont cēlx qui voˢ garderont; *MS. Lebaud*, se seront ceulx de Kans,' etc.

[2] *MS. Y*, aultrement ge nen chaufferoy nulz.

[3] *MS. O*, poʳ mept' a son coul et ung eppieu.

[4] *MS. O*, de Londres a Grand Sands desū; *MS. Y*, de Londres a Grant Sande par dessus la Thamise; *MS. Le Beau*, Gransonde; *MS. Lebaud*, Grauesendre.

[5] *MS. O*, et se feust un larron ou murtrier ou un forestier de bois.

[6] *MS. Le Beau* inserts, 'Et adoncques fist tenir en prison le Roi Henry le duc d'Auxestre comte d'Antiton et frere du Roi Richard de par sa mère, le duc de Sudrien comte de Can, et le duc d'Armale comte de Rostellen; ces trois grands seigneurs pour la suspicion qu'il avoit sur eux; et moult se doubtoit de plusieurs.

[7] *MS. O*, et leur fut dit.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, du Roy Richart, et de votre liguage.

ITEM il est vray que le viij^e jo^r deuāt Noel mil iij^c iiij^xx xix estoyent au disner a Wastmonst̃ en la chambre de labbe cest ass̃ le p̃mier duc fu nōme le duc Dexcestre[1] conte Dontinton et le ij^e duc fū nōme le duc de Sudrien conte de Kent le iij^e duc fu nōme le duc Darmarle conte de Rotelan. Et le p̃mier conte fu le sire Despensier conte de Closetre et le ij^e conte fu le cōte de Salsiz[2] ⁊ le feu arceueq̃ de Cātorbye qui auoit nom Vauduin et y fu le bon euesque de Carlin ⁊ si y fu labbe de Wastmōstier ⁊ Madelein le quel fu pareil de visaige au Roy Richart ⁊ du corps ⁊ la fu maistre Pol le phisicien du Roy Richart[3] ⁊ la estoit un saige baron sire Thomas Blont. Et quāt les seigneurs orēt disne ilz alerent au conseil de couste la salle en la chābre de labbe[4] ⁊ auoyent un secretaire lequel auoit fait vj petites chartres toutes vj furent taillees ⁊ endentees lune dehors lautre[5] Ch̃un des diz seigneurs mistrent leurs seaulx en chascun des dictes chartres. Et entreulx jurerēt ainsi par les foiz de leurs corps destre loyal lun a lautre jusques a la mort pour aidier le Roy Richart et le royaume remectre en sa seignourie ⁊ en son royal estat[6] ou pour mourir en la paine. Et quilz prēdroyēt le Roy Henry ⁊ ses enfans aux joustes quilz f̃oyent le jour des iij Roys[7] Et leur ordonnāce qui fu quilz deuoiēt assembler le p̃mier jour de lan[8] a une ville qui a nom Quinxton a x lieues pres de Londres ⁊ q̃ Magdelein cheuaucheroit auecq̃s eulx

The plot at the chambers of the Abbot of Westminster.

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, Dorcestre.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and 10212,[3] b, Salsebery.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'maistre Pol le phisicien du Roy Richart.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, en une chambre moult richement paree; *MS. Y*, en une des chambres de labbe.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, lune dedens lautre.

[6] *MS. Y*, en sa dominacion et seigneurie et roial estat.

[7] *MS. Y*, le jour de la Thiespaine (Epiphany).

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, le premier Dimenche de lan.

on lieu du Roy Richart Item le Roy Henry[1] lectres a tous les seigneurs de son royaume priāt ⁊ cōmādāt quilz venissēt a la feste de nouueau Roy on chastel de Windeshore.[2]

Several lords request Henry to put Richard to death.

ITEM le jour de lan fu le Roy Henry ⁊ ses iiij enfās ⁊ ses ij freres ⁊ iiij ducs ⁊ iiij contes cest aſſ le duc de Yorc[3] le duc de Sudrien le duc Darmarle le duc Dexcestre touz vestuz dune liuree Et le jour de lan q̃nt le Roy Henry ot disne ⁊ tous les seignrs un arceuesq̃ ⁊ un duc iiij cōtes ⁊ deux cheuālrs ⁊ iij de ceulx de Londres ces xj psonnes se mistrēt a genoulx deuāt le Roy Henry ⁊ lui p̃nterēt ētreulx une supplicacon laquelle faisoit mēcion quil pensast de ce q̃l auoit dit le jour[4] quil vouloit faire deliurer de cest monde ⁊ faire mectre a mort le Roy Richart[5] Et le Roy Henry regarda sur eulx disāt ainsi Vous cousin arceuesq̃ de Cātorbye bel ōcle de Yorc ⁊ vous cousin Darondel ⁊ vous cōnestable conte de Northomberland ⁊ vous mareschal cōte de Waschōberland[6] ⁊ conte de Waruiic ⁊ vous Thomas Darpehem[7] ⁊ vous Henry de Persy auisez vous bien entre vous quelle chose vous me requerez car vous sauez que le Roy Richart a este nostre souuerain seignr grāt tēps ⁊ il est cōdāpne ⁊ jugie p plain plemēt a estre en prison ppetuelm̃t ⁊ Et je vous diz se il se lieue aucūe armeure[8] on pais pour cause de lui il sera le

[1] All the other MSS. read 'enuoya lettres;' *MS. Lebaud*, apres un pou de temps le Roy Henry enuoia lettres.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, Windesoreht; *MS. O*, Windezore.

[3] *MSS. O* and *Y*, York.

[4] *MSS. O* and *Y*, le jour deuant cest assauoir de faire mourir le Roy Richart.

[5] *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'et que s'il ne le fasoit pas, il s'en repenteroit.'

[6] *MS. Le Beau*, Wascombelland.

[7] *MS. Le Beau*, Darpinghen.

[8] *MS. Le Beau*, armee; *MS. O*, sil lieue auoir guerre ou armes.

ꝑmier q̃ en mourra Car jay tres grãt merueille que vous me requeiez de telles choses Cuidez vous q̃ je croye de ce vr̃e conseil[1], se maist Dieux nennil se je ne vouloye faire cõtre le plain parlemẽt, Et le Vendredi apres le jour de lan ptirẽt tous les seigneurs de Windeshore ⁊ alerẽt a Lõdres ꝓouer leurs harnoiz[2] ⁊ leurs cheuaulx pour lances ⁊ pour toutes autres choses apptenans aux joustes pour estre prestz le jo^r des Roys et orent congie du Roy Henry cħun ala deu͛s son pais pour assembler ses gens ⁊ pour estre prestz a celle journee quilz auoyẽt ꝓmis lun a lautre a estre a Kouston[3] Item le duc de Sudrien ala prendre congie a la contesse de Kent sa dame ⁊ mere au conte de Salsebry et sen ala en son hostel delez Saint Alban Et le conte de Clocestre fu tout prest Et le duc Dexcest͛ conte Dontinton sen ala deu͛s sa dame fille de feu le duc de Lẽclastre ⁊ suer du Roy Henry[4] suer de la Royne Despaigne ⁊ de la Royne Portugal po^r prẽdre cõgie a elle Adonc la dame sa fẽme cõmẽca a plourer, et dist le duc Dexcestre, Madame po^r quoy plourez vous ⁊ vous faisiez si grãt feste[5] q̃nt le Roy mõ tres cħr ꝭ ⁊ moy venismes en arrest[6] ⁊ en desplaisãce de vostre frere ⁊ sõmes ẽcores Et quãt vr̃e fre͛ fu courõne ⁊ monꝭ mon frere despose de sa courõne laq̃lle il auoit portee ⁊ tenue vaillãmẽt par xxij ans adonc euz je grãt dueil en[7] mon cuer ⁊ plouray ⁊ vous ma dame faisiez adõc grant feste ⁊ grandes risees, pour quoy plourez vo⁹ maĩtenãt La dame mena[8] si t͛s grãt

The Earl of Hunting-don's parting interview with his countess.

[1] *MS. Y*, que ie face de ce a votre conseil; *MS. O*, par St. Jean, nennil.

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *O*, pour leurs harnois; *MS. Y*, querir leurs harnois.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Quinton; *MSS.* 10212,3 b, and *Y*, Quinxton; *MS. O*, Qudlzestoun.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, pere du dit Roy Henry.

[5] *MS. Y*, si bonne chiere et si grant feste.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, en desplaisance et en arrest.

[7] *MS. Y* adds, 'et grãt courrour au cuer.'

[8] *MS. Y*, et elle demenoit ainzie grant deul.

dueil po^r le departemēt de son seign^r ⁊ mary q̄lle ne sauoit parler po^r ce q̄lle veoit son seigneur ꝑtir a tāt de belles gens darmes ⁊ darchiers car elle auoit paour pour[1] le Roy Henry son frere ⁊ aussi po^r son mary. Le duc Dexcestre apres ces polles baisa la duchesse sa femme ⁊ ses deux filles madame Doxinforde[2] et madame de Mouubray disant. Mes belles filles je vous recōmāde a Dieu ꝑez pour moy.[3]

The gathering of Richard's friends at Kingston.

ITEM le ꝑmier Dimēche de lan[4] assēblerēt a Quinxton le duc Dexcestre. le duc de Sudryen. le conte de Salsebry bien a viij^m archiers ⁊ iij^c lances[5] de gens darmes et la fleur de toute Engle℟re Et au departir de Quinxton[6] les seigneurs enuoyerēt unes lectres a Londres au duc Darlemarle conte de Rotelan quil ne laissast mie quil ne fust la nuit des Roys a Coulbourc[7] Et le duc Darmarle ala disner le ꝑmier Dimēche de lan auec son pere le duc de Yorc Et quāt le conte de Rotelan fu assiz a table auec son pere adonc il mist la lectre de leur conseil deuāt lui Et quāt le duc de Yorc la vit il demāda a son filz quelle l℟e est cela Adonc le cōte de Rotelan osta son chappel ⁊ dist a son pere. Monſ ne vous en desplaise elle nest pas pour vous ⁊ le duc dist a son filz Mōstrez la ca je vueil sauoir que cest Adonc le duc Darmarle dōna la l℟e a son pere. Et quāt le duc de Yorc vit les vj seaulx de la l℟e il la lut ꝑstoute. Et quāt il lot trestoute leue il dist Mectez

[1] *MS. Y*, et doubtoit moult que ce fust pour greuer le Roy Henry.

[2] *MS. O*, madame Depinsard.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'lesquelles furēt moult courroucees par semblant et comencerent a plourer.'

[4] *MS. Le Beau*, le Dimanche de devant les Rois.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, iiij^c lances; so *MS. Y*.

[6] *MS. O*, Kymkeston.

[7] *MS. O*, Coulbourg; *MS.* 10212, [3b], Caitrebourc; *MS. Ambass.*, Caitrebourg; *MS. Le Beau*, Comelebourc.

tost les selles aux cheuaulx. He tu larron faulx traitre tu as este faulx au Roy Richart or doys tu estre faulx ⁊ traitre a ton cousin[1] le Roy Henry. Et tu ribault,[2] tu sces bien que je suis pleiges pour toy ⁊ que jay mis mon corps ⁊ mon ħitaige pour toy en parlemēt Je voy bien que tu me vuelz faire mourir. par Saint George jayme mieulx q̃ tu soyez pendu q̃ moy Adonc mōta le duc de Yorc a cheual pour aler a Windeshore faire sauoir au Roy Henry les nouuelℓ ⁊ lui monstrer les lectres quil auoit osteez a son filz. Et quāt le duc Darmarle vit que son pere deuoit aler a Windeshore deuers le Roy Henry le filz sen ala plus tost que le pere[3] ⁊ fut deuant lui bonne piece a Windeshore Et aussi tost que le conte de Rotelan y arriua il ferma les portes du chastel ⁊ porta les clefs auecques lui deuant le Roy Henry ⁊ se mist a genoulx deuant lui a tout les clefz en sa main en criant m̃cy au Roy ⁊ le Roy lui respondi Beau cousin vous ne mauez riens meffait Adonc dist le conte de Rotelan au Roy Henry tout lestat des seigneurs deℓℓ nōmes leur entreprinse ⁊ ordonnāce cōmēt il deuoit estre p̄ns ⁊ ses enfans[4] et quilz remectroyēt le Roy Richart ⁊ la Royne en leur estat et cōmēt il estoit de leur conseil De ce je vous crye mercy que vous le me pardonnez Adonc le Roy Henry respondi Se je le treuue verite tout ce que vous dictes vous est p̄donne ⁊ se je le treuue autremēt par ma foy vous vous en repentirez Et apres ceste parolle arriua le duc de Yorc lequel p̄nta la lettre au Roy Henry laquelle il auoit ostee a son filz. Et quāt le Roy vit la lettre tous les vj seaulx il cōmāda a mectre les selles a viij cheuaulx car il

Rutland reveals the conspiracy to Henry.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud*, *O*, and *Y*, ton droit cousin.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, et mauuais homme.

[3] *MS. Y* adds, 'q'r il estoit moult veil.'

[4] *MS. O*, et ses quatre cussins le jo^r des Roys.

vouloit tantost aler a Londres Et quāt le Roy fu monte a cheual pour aler a Londres il encōtra le maire de Londres a v cheuaulx courant pour lui porter nouuelles q̃ les seigneurs estoient aux champs a vj^{m} combatans et arriua le Roy Henry a ix heures [1] en la nuit Adonc fist on un cry ⁊ cōmādement de par le Roy que tous ceulx q̃ vouldroyent ſuir au Roy et a la ville de Londres que ilz alassent a la maison du conseil ⁊ que chũn se feist escripte ⁊ jurast a ſuir loyalmēt Et ilz seroiēt paiez pour xv jours a xviij deniers [2] le jour pour chascūe lance et ix d̄ pour chũn archier ⁊ Et q̃nt ilz furēt prestz lendemain a viij heures pour aler auecq̃s le Roy la furent escripz ⁊ paiez xvj^{m} gens [3] ⁊ plus Et le jour des Roys vj^{e} jour de lan mil iij^{c} iiij^{xx} ⁊ xix a xij heures du jour se party le Roy Henry de Lōdres pour rencontrer les auſs seigneurs qui estoient ses ēnemis Il est verite que quāt le Roy Henry se party de Londres il nauoit que l lances ou enuiron et vj^{m} archiers Et quāt il fu un pou dehors sur un beau plain il cōmāda a faire sa bataille po^{r} attendre ses autres gens la se tint il jusques pres de iij heures apres disner auāt que ceulx de la ville cōmēcassent a venir [4] Adonc dist le Roy Henry au conte de Warwiic tout en plourāt ⁊ Thōmas jay trop grāt merueille ou demoure si lōguement nr̃e beau cousin Darondel [5] a tout ceulx de la ville Adōc respondi le conte de Warwiic au Roy Tres chier ſ se vous eussiez fait le conseil de vr̃e cōmū ⁊ du plain parlemēt de ceste journee ne fust pas mestier.[6] Et pour quoy ce dist le Roy

Henry raises an army.

[1] *MSS. Lebaud*, *O*, and *Y*, a x heures; *MS. Le Beau*, environ vj heures.

[2] *MS. Y*, xviij esterlins pour jour et chascun archier neuf esterlins pour jour.

[3] *MS. Y*, xviij^{m} personnes.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, de la ville venissent.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, Thomas veez cy trop mal venu, ou demoure beau cousin Darondel.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, ne fust ja besoing; *MS. Y*, ne fust rieus.

eussions fait mectre a mort tel seignr car il nauoit riens meffait ne failly[1] encontre moy ⁊ aussi je nestoye pas Roy adonc quelle occasion eusse je eue de le faire mourir Mais je vo⁹ prometz par Saint George se je le puis rēcontrer auecq̄s eulx il mouriroit ou moy.[2] disant quil nauoit paour de Frācoys de Escossoys[3] ne de ceulx Dyrlande ne des Angloiz q̄ estoiēt armez a lencontre de lui ne ne doubtoit aucūes gens du mōde q̄ les Flamens[4] disant Je ne doubte quilz nayent eu nouuelles de nostre fait ⁊ quilz ne soyent les p̄miers qui vendrōt sur no⁹ Pour ce cōmāda il au maire de Londres quil retournast a la ville de Londres por cōmāder ⁊ deffendre par tout le pais Dengleſtre que nulz ne fust si hardy de partir ne de passer la mer sur paine de pendre.[5] Droitemēt a iij heures vint le sire de Fouatre[6] sur un grant coursier en une haute selle ⁊ porta la baniere de Londres la quelle fu dargēt ⁊ une croix de gueules a tout viij^{m} combatans tous a cheual Adonc cōmēca le Roy a dire quāt ceulx de Londres furēt arriuez en faisant grāt feste et demanda a boire. Et quant il ot beu il donna la coupe au conte de Warwiic disant Thōmas buuez nauez point de paour nous auons bonne journee Apres ce arriua le conte Darondel lequel descendi a terre ⁊ fist reuēſnce au Roy ⁊ le Roy le baisa ⁊ lui dist. Bien soiez vous venu beau cousin La fist le Roy bataille de xx^{m} combatans et cōmāda au cōte de Rotelan a aler deuāt pour veoir lestat de ses ēnemis qui estoient a xvj[7] lieues pres de

Henry's threat to kill Richard, should he meet him.

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[1] *MS. O*, mesprins ne defaille.

[2] *MS. Y*, auecques eulx loing (a coté de) lui ou moy mourrons; *MS.* 10212,[3b], il mourra ou je mourriray.

[3] *MS. O*, des Scotzers.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, que Almens et Flamens; *MS. Y*, mais moult doubtoit les Flamans; *MS. O*, mais doubtoit fort les Flamens.

[5] *MS. Y*, de perdre corps et auoir.

[6] *MS. Y*, Folbastre; *MS. Le Beau*, Fraser (!)

[7] *MS. O*, vj lieues; *MS. Y*, vj^{m} Dangleterre pres dillec.

lui ⁊ quil en rapportast ĉtaines nouuelles, le Roy Hēry ordōna deux auāt gardez de iiij^{m} arc̃rs et de ij^{c} lances, ⁊ cōmāda la moictie de lauāt garde a son frere le marquis[1] ⁊ lautre a sire Thomas Darpigin[2] et fist aler les deux auāt gardez ꝑmy deux chemīs et fist cōmāder a tous les autres que nul ne fust si hardy de passer son cheual sur paine de perdre sa teste[3] car il vouloit estre le ꝑmier q̃ cōmēceroit a eulx[4] Et quāt le conte de Rotelan fu party du Roy il sen ala tout droit a Coulbourc[5] ou il trouua le frere du Roy Richart ⁊ les autres seigneurs aux quelx il fist entendāt que le Roy Henry est̃ tout prest de combatre dehors Londres bien a ij^{m} archiers Et cuidoyent les seigneurs que le Roy neust point tant de gens cōe le conte de Rotelan leur auoit dit, Et adonc trouuerēt a leur conseil quilz iroyent a Gales ou a Excestre La serons nous fors asses de gens pour cōbatre a tous ceulx Dengleſre, Le conte de Rotelan fist semblāt de vouloir mourir ⁊ viure auecq̃s eulx Et quāt les seigneurs ⁊ leur ost furēt passez les deux pons de Mideheet[6] iiij lieues ꝑ della Coulbourc la cōmēcerent a arriuer les deux auāt gardes du Roy Henry Et quāt le conte de Rotelan senty que les deux auāt gardez estoient si pres de lui il sen retoꝛna enuſs eulx de lauātgarde criant Ilz sen fuient tous Et le conte de Rotelan fist droitemēt semblāt a eulx quil auoit tenu escarmuche encontre ceulx qui passerent le pont Et il est verite que quāt le frere du Roy Richart ⁊ les auſs seigneurs sentirēt que le conte de Rotelan fu au cōtraire deulx le duc de

The Earl of Huntingdon and his army at Colnbrook.

They pass Maidenhead Bridges, Monday, 4th January 1400.

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[1] *MS. O*, le marquis Dorcestre.

[2] *MS.* 10212,[3 b], Daplehan; *MS. O*, Derpeghen.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, dauoir la teste coupper.

[4] *MS. O*, quant les horrons commenceront; *MS. Le Beau*, le premier à la besongne.

[5] *MS. Le Beau*, Connillebourc.

[6] *MS. V*, Mardechee; *MS.* 10212,[3 b], Mihet; *MS. Ambass.*, Mendeult; *MS. Le Beau*, Mèdehoc.

Sudrien qui fu nōme conte de Kent se mist a garder le pont ⁊ pria au conte Dontinton quil feist tousiours[1] cheuaucher lost tāt quilz fussent passez Onler ⁊ Hoxteforde[2] tout bellemēt ⁊ il tendroit larriere garde[3] auec les mieulx montez en despit de tous ses ennemis Les auant gardez du Roy Henry ne furent point si hardiez de passer le pont de Merdeult Mais le duc de Sudrien tint lescarmuche si fort quil gaigna sur eulx deux somiers deux malles ⁊ un cheriot du Roy Henry ⁊ tint le pont si vallāmēt que nul deux ne pouoit passer le pont en trois jours auant q̃ le Roy Henry y arriuast. Et quāt le duc de Sudrien senti que le Roy fu arriue lui ⁊ sa compaignie tindrent le pont gaillardemēt jusques a la nuit et quant il fut nuit le duc de Sudrien ⁊ sa cōpaignie mōterēt a cheual secretemēt. Et le duc ēmena tous ceulx de la ville[4] auec lui apie ⁊ a cheual pour aidier le Roy Richart[5] Et le conte Dontinton ala deuant a tout lost ⁊ si fist prendre ⁊ mener toutes les viandes ⁊ les viures de la ville[6] afin que le Roy Henry ne ses gens ny trouuassent riens Et le duc de Sudrien cheuaucha tant en celle nuit quil vint a Oxinforde[7] ⁊ il sen ala par dehors la ville ⁊ lendemain il trouua le frere du Roy Richart ⁊ tous les aus seigneurs et lost de Hondescot[8] ⁊ de la alerent a une ville nōmee Sucrestre[9] ⁊ laisserēt toutes leurs gens dehors la ville aux champs Et tous les seignrs dessus nōmez

Encounter with Henry's vanguard.

[1] *MS. Y*, tousdis.

[2] *MS.* 10212, [3b], enuers Honisixorde; *MS. Y*, quils passe Hurler et Osteforde; *MS. Lebaud*, on ber de Hoteforde, et tout bellement; *MS. Le Beau*, passez Oxford.

[3] *MS. Y*, et quil tendroit la regarde. See *Glossary*.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, de la ville de Merdoulh; *MS. Y*, de la ville de Mardahet.

[5] *MS. Y* adds, 'et a ses biens veillants.'

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, du pais; *MS. Le Beau*, toutes les pourvéances de la ville.

[7] *MS. O*, a Puisarde (qy. Pewsey, near Oxford); *MS. Y*, Honsciforde.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, Hodestok.

[9] *MS. O*, Sincestre; *London Chronicle*, Sucetre.

The Duke of Surrey and other lords at Cirencester, Tuesday, 5th January 1400. (See Fœdera, 28th Nov. 1400.)

alerẽt logier trestous a un hostel[1] cest aſſ leurs noms le ꝑmier seigneur fu un noble cheſtr le duc de Sudrien conte de Kent le second fu le frere du Roy Richart duc Dexceſ et conte Dontinton ⁊ ꝯ la fu le noble conte de Clocestre le sire Despensier la fu le cõte de Salsebry lequel ot nom Mõtagu ꝯ un bon cheſtr ꝯ baron q̃ ot nom sire Thomas Blont ⁊[2] la fu Madelein lequel ressembloit au Roy Richart ꝯ un cheſtr qui ot nom sire Benoist Cely[3] Toutes ces seigneurs estoient logiez en un hostel ꝯ pluſs auſs cheualiers ꝯ escuiers lesquelz je ne cõgnois mie Et quãt tous les seigneurs dessus nõmez furẽt logiez en la ville de Sucreſ ꝯ leurs gens ꝯ leur ost demourerẽt aux champs sanz capitaine ꝯ sans ordonnãce lequel fu tres grãt merueille car la estoit la fleur de toute Engleſre Et q̃nt les seigneurs furẽt logiez en lostel ou ilz cuidoyent estre bien logiez monſr le duc de Sudrien mãda tantost le connestable de la ville[4] pour secourir le Roy Richart au point du jour tout arme a pie ou a cheual ⁊ Et adonc quãt celle assemblee fu faicte adonc y arriua un archier du Roy Henry[5] lequel vint tout droit logier en lostel ou tous les diz seigneurs estoient logiez ꝯ fist faire du feu en une chãbre a par lui ⁊ Et le duc de Sudrien scot quil auoit leans[6] logie un archier du Roy Henry le duc[7] sen ala parler a lui ꝯ lui demãda de quelle part il venoit ⁊ Larchier lui respondi ⁊ Monſr je viens de deuſs Gales ou jay este de par le Roy Henry Adonc le duc de Sudrien prist[8] la liuree quil portoit sur

[1] *MS. Le Beau*, en la ville près Quinstone en ung hostel (!)

[2] *MSS. Lebaud* and *O*, Blond; *MS. Le Beau*, Leblonc (!)

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, sire Bernart; *MS. V*, messe Benoist Sely.

[4] *MS. V* adds, 'et lui cõmanda quil feist appareiller touz ceulx de la ville.'

[5] *MS. V* adds, 'qui estoit de sa liuree.'

[6] pro là-dedans.

[7] The other MSS. omit 'scot quil avoit leans logie un archier du Roy Henry le duc.'

[8] *MS. V*, lui ousta sa liuree.

son bras ⁊ la gecta dedēs le feu disant cest en despit de Henry de Lenclastre Et tu villain traitre tu es venu cy pour nous espier si seras tantost traisne ⁊ pendu [1] en despit de ton maistre. Le duc de Sudrien enuoya q̄rir le cōnestable en la ville ⁊ cōmāda q̄ on feist tātost larchīr traisner ⁊ pēdre ⁊ le cōnestable respōdi aux seigneurs quil le feroit tantost pendre ⁊ mena larchīr tātost en son hostel ⁊ lui donna a boire ⁊ a mēgier Adonc dist larchier Cōnestable je vo⁹ supply ⁊ requier po^r lamour du Roy Henry q̄ vo⁹ tenez la chose en estat [2] tant q̄ le duc de Sudrien ait parle au Roy Henry pour sauoir se celle armee est en son cōmādemēt ou non Quāt le connestable fu ainsi requis de larchier il ala tātost assēbler tous les hōmes de la ville lesquelz furēt bien soixante archīrs [3] Et le connestable sen ala tantost a lostel des seigneurs ⁊ dist au duc de Sudrien. Monſ je metz la main a vous de par le Roy Henry ⁊ cōmāde que nul de vous ne soit si hardy quil se ꝑte hors de lostel aincois [4] que vous aiez parle a lui Adonc le duc de Sudrien lui donna une buffe ⁊ dist au cōnestable Villain cōmēt es tu si hardiz de nous arrester vous serez pendu demain au matin aussi tost quil ſa jour. [5] Villain vecy [6] le Roy Richart qui est souuerain Roy cōmēt es tu si hardy de parler si orgueilleusemēt crye mercy au Roy. Le connestable ne le voult faire au quel le cōte dōna encores [7] une buffe Ainsi la riote [8] cōmēca entre les seigneurs

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, par Saint George vous serez tantost traynez et penduz.

[2] *MS. Y*, que vous arrestez auxi bien le duc de Sudrian cōme moy et le tenir en arrest pour tant quil ait parle.

[3] *MS. O*, viij^xx (160) archiers.

[4] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Y*, tant; *MS. O*, jusques.

[5] *MS. Y*, au point du jour; *MS. Lebaud* omits, 'aussi tost quil sera jour.'

[6] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Y* read, 'Villain, le Roy Richart est vostre souu'ain Roy.'

[7] *MSS. Y* and *O*, et derechief lui donna une autre buffe.

[8] *MS. O*, la meslee; *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'et y eust grant hutin.'

Death of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury.

⁊ ceulx de la ville de Sucrest de quoy[1] ce fu grant pitie car le connestable crya aux gēs de la ville Ent vo⁹ bōnes gens je vous cōmāde de p le Roy Hēry q̄ vous alez prēdre ces seigneurs lesq̄lx sont trestous ennemis de mons le Roy Henry. Adonc cōmēca lassault ⁊ trairēt fors de leurs arcs Et au p̄mier fu tue dune saiecte[2] le duc de Sudrien conte de Kent Et le conte de Salsebry se combaty tāt quil fu tue en combatant Et q̄nt le frere du Roy Richart conte Dontinton et le conte de Clocestre sire Despensier ⁊ Magdelein lequel ressembloit le Roy Richart virent que ceulx de la ville faisoyent si grant assault sur eulx pour les prendre et mectre a mort il est verite que ces iij seigneurs se bouteient[3] par une fenestre ⁊ descendirēt hors de lostel ⁊ alerent bouter le feu en deux ou en trois hostelz de la ville pour ce quilz cuidoyent que les villains de la ville deussent laissier le debat ⁊ lassault sur lostel ou les seigneurs estoyent logiez a grant dangier car les degrez[4] de lostel estoient si estroiz quilz ne se pouoiēt deffendre fors deux a deux ⁊ les villains estoient dedens[5] la maison lesquelz traoiēt si fort entreulx l archiers[6] q̄ les seigneurs ne pouoiēt bouter hors leurs testes de la chambre pour eulx deffendre Et quāt le conte Dontinton ⁊ le duc de Clocestre ⁊ Magdelein virent[7] q̄ les villains ne firēt compte du feu ⁊ quilz tindrent tousiours lassault por prendre les seigneurs ou pour tuer si salerent entreulx bouter hors de la ville ⁊ alerent aux champs[8] ou ilz cuiderēt trouuer leur ost ⁊ leur gens mais ilz ne les trouuerēt pas car ilz

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, de quoy debat.
[2] *MS. Lebaud*, saiette; *MS. O*, seete; *MS. Le Beau*, fut féru d'une flesche.
[3] *MS. Lebaud*, quilz se bouterēt; *MS. V*, se mectrent hors.
[4] *MS. Le Beau*, les montrées.
[5] *MS. V*, Et auxi les x (? lx) archiers qui estoient hors la maison tiroient si fort.
[6] *MS. Lebaud*, lx archiers.
[7] *MS. Lebaud*, Et quāt les diz seigneurs virent.
[8] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et alerent aux champs.'

sestoient trestouz retraiz ⁊ fuiz ⁊ sen estoient tres- Dispersion of Richard's followers.
tous ales vers Escoce pour ce quilz veoient le feu en la ville ilz cuidoyent entreulx que le Roy Henry y fust arriue Et le frere du Roy Richart celz trouua [1] son maistre dostel ēuiron a xij cheuaulx ⁊ monta a cheual ⁊ sen ala tout droit vers Assax [2] pour sen aler hors du royaume ⁊ pais ⁊ le sire Despēsier sen ala vers Gales en son pais ⁊ Magdelein cuida aler en Escoce Et les seigneurs q̃ demourerēt en la ville de Sucrestre [3] tindrēt vaillam̃t lostel ⁊ se deffendirēt gaillardemēt jusques a lendemain viij heures Adonc les cōuint rendre par force ⸗ La furēt p̄ns sire Thōmas Blont sire Benoist [4] ⁊ xxx autres seigneurs ētre c̄hīrs ⁊ escuiers [5] lesq̃lz furēt fort liez ⁊ menez tout a pie courāt delez [6] leurs cheuaulx ⸗ lesq̃lx les villains cheuauchoiēt ⸗ Et q̃nt les seign̄rs furēt p̄ns le cōmū copa la teste au duc de Sudrien ⁊ au conte de Salsebry ⁊ les villains bouterent [7] les testes des seigneurs sur lōgues perches ⁊ les porterēt ainsi de Sucrestre a Hōinforde [8] ou ilz trouuerēt logie le Roy Henry en Henry at Oxford.
labbaye des Carmes dehors la ville a qui ilz p̄senterēt les testes ⁊ les prisonniers Et le Roy cōmāda a sire Thomas Darpehem son chambellan que on feist justice cest aff des seigneurs p̄sōniers ⁊ que on les feist tous mettre a mort reserue un jeune c̄hīr lequel le Roy Henry auoit fait c̄hīr le Samedi auāt quil fust courōne pour ce quil estoit encores jeune

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, cellui trouua; *MS. Y*, Et ainzie que dauēture le conte de Hontinton trouua.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, Essay; *MS. O*, Essas; *MS. Y*, Essieux; *MS. Le Beau*, Assaix.

[3] *MS. O* and *Y*, Sincestre.

[4] *MS. Y*, messe Benoist Sely; *Monk of St. Denys*, dominus Benedictus.

[5] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'lesquelx je ne congnoissoie point.'

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, empres.

[7] *MS. O*, fichierēt.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, Gomforde; *MS. Le Beau*, Gomeforde. I have no doubt that the writers of these MSS. mistook the mark of the contraction under the o for a g; the word was often written goinforde, pro Oxoinforde; *MS. Y* reads, 'Valinforde;' *MS. O*, Puisarde.

enfant ⁊ de grāt lignie ⁊ lui pardonna le Roy de quil auoit este son ēnemy ⁊ quil sestoit arme contre lui Et sire Thomas Blont ⁊ sire Benoist[1] furēt traisnez Doxinforde[2] jusques a la justice une lieue longue ou plus ⁊ la furent ilz penduz et coupa on tātost les cordes ⁊ fist on yceulx seigneurs parler ⁊ asseoir sur un banc deuāt un grāt feu lequel fu fait delez la justice ⁊ la vint le bourrel a tout un rasouer en sa main ⁊ se mist a genoulx deuāt sire Thōmas Blont le quel auoit les mains liez ⁊ le bourrel lui crya m̄cy ⁊ quil lui voulsist pardōner sa mort ⁊ car il lui cōuenoit faire son office Adonc sire Thōmas Blont lui demāda Estez vous cellui qui me deliuerez de cest monde Et bourrel lui respondi q̄ oil et dist Monſ je vous supplie que vous le me ꝑdonnez ⁊ Et le seigneur le baisa ⁊ lui pardonna sa mort ⁊ Le bourrel auoit une petite cuuete[3] ⁊ un rasouer ⁊ sagenoilla entre le feu es seigneurs ⁊ se desboutōna sire Thomas Blont ⁊ le bourrel tailla le ventre au cheualier ⁊ lui coupa les boyaulx droit dessoubz lestomac ⁊ les noa dune lasniere[4] afin q̄ le vent du cuer ne se partist[5] dehors ⁊ gecta les boyaulx dedens le feu Adonc sire Thōmas Blont estoit assiz deuāt le feu le ventre tout ouuert ⁊ vit ses boyaulx ardoir deuāt lui Et sire Thomas Darpechem[6] lui dist Or alez q̄rir un maistre qui vous garira Et sire Thōmas Blont mist ses mains ensemble disant Te Deum laudam[9] ⁊ benoite soit leure q̄ je fus oncques ne et benoist soit le jour duy car je mourray a ce jour on ſuice de mon souuerain seigneur le noble Roy Richart Et apres ceste parolle sire Thōmas Darpe-

Execution of Sir Thomas Blount and Sir Benet Sely.

[1] *MSS. O* and *V* add, 'eulx vj;' *MS. Le Beau*, 'et iv autres chevaliers.'

[2] *MS. O*, de Windezore (!) *MS. Le Beau*, depuis Romforde jusques a la justice (!)

[3] *MS. V*, une lancete et ung rasouer et tantoust lui deslacza.

[4] *MS. V*, dune aguillete.

[5] *MS. V*, nen yssist.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, Darpinghen; *MS. V*, Arpeglen.

hem chãbellan du Roy Henry demãda a sire Thõmas Blont lesquelz sont seigneurs chl̃rs ⁊ escuiers qui sont de vostre accort[1] ⁊ de vostre traison Adonc respondi le bon chl̃r au ventre ouuert Es tu le traitre Arpeghem tu es plus faulx q̃ je ne suis ne ne fuz oncq̃s ⁊ tu as mẽty cõme faulx chl̃r que tu es car ꝑ la mort q̃l me conuiẽt souffrir je ne parlay oncques en nul mal de nul seignr chl̃r ne escuier ne de nulle c̃eature du mõde Mais tu diz ta faulse voulente cõme un faulx traitre ⁊ desloyaulx du faire[2] Et par toy ⁊ par le faulx traitre le conte de Rotelan est destruicte la noble cheualerie Dengleťre ⸝ maudite soit leure que toy ⁊ lui fustez onq̃s nez Je crye a Dieu mercy de mes pechiez Et tu traitre conte de Rotelan ⁊ tu faulx Alpeghem entre vous deux je vous appelle a respõdre deuãt la face de Jh̃u Crist pour la grãt traison que vous deux auez faicte cõtre nostre souuerain seigneur le noble Roy Richart ⁊ contre sa noble cheualerie Adonc la bourrel lui demãda sil vouloit boire ⁊ il respondi q̃ nennil On a oste ou je le deuoye mectre la Dieu mercy[3] ⁊ apres il pria au bourrel quil le deliurast de ce mõde car il dist quil lui faisoit mal de veoir les traitres[4] Et le bourrel se mist a genoulx ⁊ baissa le bourrel ⁊ tantost apres lui fust la teste copee ⁊ escartelle[5] ⁊ tous les autres seigneurs aussi[6] ⁊ pourbouliez Et ou[7] chastel Doxinforde furẽt copees les testes des auťs chl̃rs et escuiers.

[1] *MS. Y*, de vostre couste et accort.

[2] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'du faire.'

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, Dieux en soit louez.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, deuãt lui les traistres.

[5] *MS. O*, Et puix le mist en quatre quartiers et au chastel de Vuyndezore les aut's ss^rs eurent les testes coupees.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, et apres esquartelez et les quartiers pourbouliez, et pareillement fist on a sire Benoist.

[7] ou pro au.

Henry sends the heads of the conspirators to London.

ITEM lan mil iij^{c} iiij^{xx} ⁊ xix le xvj^{e} [1] jour de Januier ⁊ le ix^{e} jour apres les Roys a un Mercredy entra bel present a Londres que le Roy Henry enuoya a la cite cest aſſ que le ꝑmier furēt les viij testes ⁊ viij quartiers et xij gentilz hōmes ꝑsōniers viuās ⁊ trestous par delez les villaīs ⁊ [2] furēt liez a cordes de fouetz Il ẽ verite q̃ la teste du duc de Sudrien fu la ꝑmiere ⁊ sur le plus hault baston ⁊ deuāt celle vint la plus grāt ptie des trōpetez ⁊ des menestrelz du pais [3] ⁊ firēt grāt feste tous ceulx de Lōdres ⁊ larceuesq̃ de Cātorbye et xviij euesques et xxxij abbez a mitrez sans les autres ꝑlaz [4] alerent a procession a tout mistrez ⁊ vestus en leur habit deglise a lencontre du present que le Roy Henry enuoyoit a ceulx de Londres et ilz chanterent Te Deū laudam^{9} ⁊ le peuple fist tres grant feste ⁊ crya a une voix [5] Dieu gart ⁊ beneye nr̃e ſ le Roy Henry ⁊ monſ le prince Et puis larceuesq̃ sen ala a Saint Pol ⁊ chanta la on cueur Te Deū laudam^{9} ⁊ apres ce il fist lui mesmes sermon [6] ⁊ prescha Et le Jeudi apres vint le Roy Henry a Londres ⁊ lui firent grant feste tous ceulx de la ville ⁊ laisserent euure de tous mestiers ⁊ estoient trestouz armez Et quāt le Roy Henry vint a Saint Pol la mere eglise [7] de Londres la vindrēt a lencōtre de lui tous les ꝑlaz du royaume Dengleterre tous chātans Te Deū laudam^{9} ainsi cōme ilz auoiēt fait le jour deuāt ⁊ larceuesque lui dōna de leaue benoite Adonc dist le Roy Henry tout coy son cheual ⁊ dist aux ꝑlas ⁊ Par Saint George cest belle

Henry's triumphal entrance into London.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, le vj^{e} jour de Januier; *MS. Y*, le xxij^{e} jour; the other *MSS.* and *The Monk of St. Denys*, the 'xvj^{e}.'

[2] *MS. O*, que les villains de Sincestre amenerent liez de cordes.

[3] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'et des menestrelz du pais.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'sans les autres prelaz.' The words are found in *MS. O* and some others.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, a haulte voix.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, Il fist, et prescha un loing sermon.

[7] *MS. O*, la maist'sse eglise; *MS. Lebaud*, la maistre eglise.

Henry's speech to the citizens.

chose que de nous veoir tous ensemble on cas q̃ noꝰ fussons trestouz bons ⁊ loyaulx lun enu͛s lautre car c̃tainmẽt il y a des traitrez entre nous Mais je ꝓmetz a Dieu q̃ je recuelleray les mauuaises herbes ⁊ les arracheray hors[1] de mon jardin ⁊ le semeray des bonnes herbez tellemẽt q̃ mon jardin ſ̃a tout dedẽs mes fossez ⁊ murs sil nest que aucũ de vous se repente Et le Vendredy apres ala le Roy en ꝓcession par toute la ville de Londres a tout le clergie ⁊ les seigneurs lesquelz alerent deuant et le cõmun de la ville derriere et qͧnt il vint en la moitie du champs il cõmenca a parler ainsi[2] Entre vous petiz ⁊ grans je vous mercye du bien ⁊ grãt honneur q̃ vous mauez fait et seray a tousiours mays tenu a ceulx de Londres, et par ma foy entre vous, me trouuerez poͬ un bon ⁊ loyal seruiteur Et encores dist il a eulx, Monſ̃ mon oncle nala oncques tant auãt ne si loing en fait de guerre se Dieu plaist que je ne voyse plus long ou je mourraye en la paine Adonc crierent a une voix Dieu gart nr̃e ſ̃ le Roy Henry ⁊ Dieux beneie monſ̃ le prince[3] Ce disoient ceulx qui la estoyent.[4]

ITEM il est verite que le jour des Roys[5] quant le Roy Henry fu aux champs dehors Londres a tous ses gens lesquelz alerent pour combatre les seigneurs qui estoient armez pour aidier le Roy Richart[6] le dit

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[1] *MS. Lebaud*, que je arracheray les mauuaises herbes et les mettray hors de mon jardin tellement quil sera tout net dedens et dehors.

[2] *MS. Y* omits this speech.

[3] *MS. Le Beau* adds, quaintly but incorrectly, 'Ces gens ne disent point comme nous en leurs prières, *Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris*; car ils ne sont aises, s'ils n'ont la guerre en la main.'

[4] All other MSS. omit 'Ce disoient ceulx qui la estoyent.'

[5] *MS.* 10212, 3 b, le jour de la feste des Roys le Roy Hẽry qui avoit este ou champs.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, pour combatre le Roy Henry.

Henry sends Sir P. Exton to put Richard to death, January 6, 1400.

Roy Henry cōmāda un cheualier q̃ on nōmoit sire Pierre Dexton [1] quil alast [2] droit a leure faire deliurer de cest monde Jehan de Londres [3] lequel fu nōme Richart [4] car il conuient que le jugemēt de parlemēt soit acompli. [5] Et quāt le cheualier ot congie du Roy Henry il cheuaucha [6] au chastel ou il trouua le Roy Richart tenāt prison [7] le quel fu assiz a table ⁊ cuidoit quil eust disne. [8] ⁊ sire Pierre Dexton appella lescuier tranchāt du Roy Richart ⁊ lui deffendi de par le Roy Henry quil ne fust plus si hardi quil feist essay deuant le Roy. mais quil le laissast mēgier a par lui sil lui plaisoit car il ne mēgeroit jamaiz plus Lescuier retourna en la chambre ou le Roy Richart estoit tout seul a table lequel ne voult mēgier pour ce quil estoit tout seul [9] et que son escuier ne voulloit faire essay deuāt lui. ainsi cōme il auoit acoustume a faire Et le Roy Richart lui demāda Quelles nouuelles. Lescuier respondi Je ne scay nulles aus fors que sire Pierre Dexton est venu Je ne scay quelles il les apporte Adonc pria le Roy Richart a lescuier quil lui taillast [10] a mengier ⁊ quil feist essay ⁊ son office Adonc se mist lescuier a genoulx deuāt la table ⁊ crya mercy au Roy Richart quil lui voulsist pardonner [11] car on lui auoit deffēdu de par le Roy Henry Adonc le Roy Richart se courouca ⁊ prist un des cousteaulx de la table ⁊ en fery

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, messire Pierre Doxton; so *MS.* 7224, [3, 3a], and *MS. Y*; *MS. O*, sire Pierre Deuston.

[2] *MS. Le Beau*, quil allast tantost sans targier à Grauesende, et tantost déliurast de ce monde.

[3] *MS.* 10212, [3b], adds, 'dit de Bordeaulx.'

[4] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'Roy Dangletre.'

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, soit tenu.

[6] *MS. O*, il cheuaucha tant quil fut arriue au chastel.

[7] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'tenant prison.'

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, a table pour disner.

[9] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'pour ce quil estoit tout seul.'

[10] *MS. Lebaud*, couppast; *MS. Y*, quil trenchast.

[11] *MS. Y* adds, 'que non feroit quar on le lui avoit.'

lescuier en la teste disāt Maudit soit Hēry de Lenclastre et toy / [1] A ceste parolle vint sire Pierre Dexton lui viij^{e} en la chābre du Roy Richart ou il estoit assiz [2] ⁊ cĥun un lance [3] en leur main Il est verite que quāt le Roy veist venir sire Pierre Dexton en sa chābre lui viij^{e} [4] tous armez adonc bouta le Roy la table arriere de lui [5] ⁊ sailly on millieu deulx huit ⁊ osta une des hachez [6] hors de la main dun deulx qui estoient la venuz pour le murdrir [7] ⁊ se mist le Roy Richart duremēt ⁊ aspremēt en deffense / et en soy deffendāt il en tua iiij des viij Et sire Pierre Dexton mōta ou le Roy fut acoustūe de seoir au disner et au souper endemētres [8] q̃l auoit tenu prison ⁊ la se gecta sire Pierre Dexton seĉtemēt sa hache en sa main [9] tant q̃ le Roy ala en soy reculāt en combatant et en deffendant cōtre les iij murdriers Le Roy se deffendi si bien que cestoit grāt merueille cōmēt il pouoit si lōguemēt durer cōtre eulx car ilz estoyent trestous armez ⁊ se deffendi le Roy Richart si vigueresemēt cōme bon ⁊ loyal cheualier deuoit faire ⁊ se recula tant en soy cōbatant ⁊ deffendant droitemēt deuāt le siege ou estoit sire Pierre Dexton leq̃l donna au Roy Richart le coup de la mort car il lui dōna tellemēt de la hache en la teste que le Roy Richart tumba arriere [10] Adonc crya le Roy mercy a Dieu ⁊ lui dōna encores un autre coup en la teste Ainsi mourut le noble Roy Richart sans con-

Richard's vigorous resistance.

His death.

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, Apres ceste parole.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, lequel estoit encores a table.

[3] Most other MSS. read 'une hache;' *MS. Le Beau*, lance ou hache.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, sire Pierre et ses coplices tous armez.

[5] *MS. Y*, bouta jus la table; so *MS. Le Beau*.

[6] *MS. Y*, et print une hache.

[7] *MS. Y* omits 'qui estoient la venuz pour le murdrir,' and reads, 'et se le noble Roy Richart si gaillardement a deffense que en soy deffendant.'

[8] *MS. Y*, pendant; *MS.* 10212, $^{3\,b}$, en tenant prison.

[9] *MS. Lebaud*, sa hache on poing. This writer afterwards condenses the account.

[10] *MSS. Lebaud* and *Y*, tumba a terre; *MS. O*, cheut a t're.

fession,[1] la quelle chose fu tres grant pitie et qui en dit autremēt il nen dit pas bien Et quāt le Roy fu mort le cheir qui lui auoit dōne le coup de la mort ala seoir delez[2] le corps du Roy Richart & cōmēca a plourer dis Lehas[3] quelle chose auons nous faicte nous auons mis a mort cellui qui a este nostre souuerain seigneur par lespace de xxij ans[4] Or ay je perdu mon honneur ne jamaiz ne pourray venir en nul pais q̄ on ne me puisse dire q̄ jauray fait contre mon hōneur[5] Et lendemain on fist amener le corps du Roy Richart a Poursoy[6] & la fu il ēterre cōme un poure gentil hōme[7] Dieu lui face mercy.

Death of Lord Despencer.

Et q^{u}nt la justice fu faicte a Oxinforde & que sire Thōmas Blont fu mis a mort le Roy Henry enuoya le cōte de Rotelan & sire Thōmas Derpeghem apres le sire Despensier qui fu cōte de Clocestre & fu prins & lui copa on la teste & le conte de Rotelan le fist aussi mener a Londres Et quāt le duc Dexcest[8] conte Dontinton frere au Roy Richart & sire Thomas Selle qui auoit este son maistre dostel[9] qui fu un bon cheir furēt arriuez en Escoce[10] en une petite ville ou demoura la contesse Daruorde la suer de feu le conte Darondel lequel auoit este decolle a Londres au grāt parlemēt, le duc Dexcest & son maistre dostel si alerent logier en lostel ou ilz auoiēt acoustumie destre logiez quāt ilz passoient par

[1] *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'mais ce qu'il estoit ainsi paisible à ses voisins desplaisoit aux Angloys qui par cette achoison l'ont ainsi traicté a mort, et sans raison.'

[2] *MS. V*, empres; *MS. Le Beau*, de costé.

[3] All other MSS. Helas.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, ou plus.

[5] *MS. V*, que ie ne aye recours en mon cuer de ce mesfait; *MS. O*, ou il ne me soit reprouue.

[6] *MS. Le Beau*, a Ponsay; *MS. V*, Pontfray.

[7] *MS. Le Beau*, la fut il enseveli comme ung povre homme.

[8] *MS. Lebaud*, Dorcestre conte Dontincon.

[9] *MS. Lebaud*, qui avoit este son bouteillier, et apres estoit son ministre dostel et estoit un moult noble et bon chevalier.

[10] *MS. V*, Estaten; *MS. Ambass.*, Plesy. 'The Countess of Estate' (Essex), *Hardyng's Chron.*

la et la contesse senti que le conte Dontinton estoit arriue Adonc elle cōmanda a son connestable de la ville que il feist assembler secretemēt tous ceulx de la ville pour prendre le frere au Roy Richart a tout ses gens car elle le vouloit auoir ⁊ prēdre vengēce de son frere Il fu fait ainsi cōme elle le cōmāda ⁊ la fu prins le conte Dontinton lui iij^e son c̄h̄ir ⁊ son bouteillier lequel auoit nom Hugue Cade[1] Et toute la plus grant partie de sa cheualerie ⁊ escuierie fu p̄nse par tout le pais de ca ⁊ de la quilz ne sauoient quelle pt cheuauc̄h̄r ne ou aler. Et enuoya la contesse unes l̄res au Roy Henry pour lui faire sauoir cōmēt elle auoit fait prēdre le conte Dontinton[2] ⁊ pria au Roy quil lui voulsist enuoyer son cousin Darondel ⁊ quil lui venist prendre vengēce de la mort de son pere car elle feroit le conte Dontinton pendre ⁊ traisner Adonc enuoya le Roy le conte Darondel p dela disant Cousin alez a vostre ante[3] et amenez les p̄sonniers p deca vifz ou mors Et quāt le conte Darondel arriua en la ville ou le conte Dontinton fu prins il trouua la cōtesse Darōdel son ante ⁊ les villains du pais qui furēt la assēblez bien viij^m ou plus La dame auoit fait amener deuāt ces villains le conte Dontinton pour le faire mourir et pour il nauoit nul des villains la qui neust bien grāt pitie de lui Et quāt le conte Darōdel arriua il trouua son ante ⁊ descendi a pie ⁊ la salua et demāda au conte Dontinton Sire que dc̄es vous ne vous repentirez vous pas q̄ par vr̄e conseil auez aidie q̄ monf̄ mon pere fust mis a mort et que vous auez si longuemēt tenue ma terre. ⁊ auez mauuaisemēt gouuſnee ma suer ⁊ par droite pourete il a cōueint

Capture of the Earl of Huntingdon, Jan. 1400.

The young Earl of Arundel overwhelms him with reproaches.

[1] *MS. Le Beau*, Hue Credo; *MS. O*, Hue Caddes.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, cōmēt le conte Dontinton estoit pris.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, tante; *MS.* 10212, [3 b], ante; *MS. O*, aunte.

me vuidier secretemẽt ⁊ tenir hors le royaume Dẽgleterre Et se neust este mon cousin le conte de Gareche[1] je fusse mort de pourete, ⁊ tu villain ne tu souuiẽt il point cõmẽt je tay mainteffoiz deschaucie ⁊ fourby[2] tes soulliers du tẽps q̃ tu fuz escuier et tu me faisoiez tenir tellemẽt cõme se jeusse este ton paillart Or auray je bien vengence de tout et du despit q̃ le seigneur ton maistre ⁊ toy auez fait a ma suer ⁊ a moy, Et fist mener le conte Dontinton deuãt la bataille des villains les mains liees disant Seigneurs aiez pitie de moy car oncques je ne meffis de riens ne a vo[9] ne aux vostres aussi, pour Dieu mercy, La nestoit nul deulx tous qui lui voulsist faire desplaisir fors que la contesse et le conte Darondel tous les aut̃s auoiẽt pitie de lui La contesse dist Maudiz soiez vous trestous villains nestes vous pas si hardiz entre vous tous de mectre un hõme a mort Adonc y vint un escuier deuãt la dame ⁊ deuãt le conte Darondel lequel se presenta a decoller le conte Dontinton frere du Roy Richart, Et la dame lui cõmãda Et il vint delez le cõte Dontinton a tout une hache en sa main ⁊ se mist a genoulx disant Monſ pardonez moy vr̃e mort ma dame ma cõmãde de vous deliurer Adonc le conte Dontinton se mist a genoulx les mains liees disant a lõme[3] qui lui auoit requis pardon de sa mort, et demãda ainsi a lõme, Mon amy es tu cellui qui me deliureras de cest monde Et lõme respondi Oil par le cõmãdemẽt de madame Et lui dist Tres doulx amis po[r] quoy me vuelz tu oster[4] la vie que Dieu ma dõnee je ne meffis oncq̃s riens a toy ne aux tiens parens ⁊ voys bien quil y a icy vij[m] p̃sonnes ⁊ plus lesquelz ne me veullẽt faire nul desplaisir

Execution of the Earl of Huntingdon.

[1] *MS. Le Beau*, le conte de Guelre; *MS.* 10212,[3 b], le conte de Lenclastre; *MS. Gaignières*, le conte de Guarescha.

[2] *MS. Le Beau*, nectoyé.

[3] *MS. Lebaud*, deuant lõme.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, perdre.

Helas mon amy cōmēt pues tu trouuer en ton cuer de moy oster [1] la vye que Dieu ma dōnee pour Dieu auise toy ⁊ vien moy baisier Je le te pardonne Adonc cōmēca le conte un pou a plourer disant Helas se je fusse aler a Rōme quant nr̃e saint pere le pape me māda pour estre son mareschal par nostre Dame je ne fusse point en ce dangier. Helas je fu en la voulēte daler parler a lui helas or est il trop tart Je crye a Dieu m̃cy de mes pechiez Et quant lōme ouy la plainte du duc Dexcesr̃ conte Dontinton il prist si grāt dueil [2] quil trembla de paour ⁊ sen retourna vers la dame tout plourāt disant. Madame pour tout lor du mōde je ne pourroye mectre a mort tel seigneur Adonc dist la dame. Tu feras ce que tu as promis ou je te feray couper la teste Quāt lōme oy ce il ot si grāt paour quil ne scot q̃ faire et dist Monf je vous crye m̃cy pardōnez moy vostre mort Le duc se mist a genoulx disāt ainsi. Helas ny a il point de remede me conuiēt il ja mourr̃ Or prie je a Dieu et a la benoite Vierge Marie ⁊ a tous les sains de Paradiz quilz aient pitie de moy ⁊ quilz me pardōnent tous mes pechiez apres ma mort Je te prie pour Dieu que tu me deliurez legieremēt de ce monde. et je crye a Dieu mercy de tout Adonc le bourrel hauca [3] la hache ⁊ le fery si fort [4] en lespaulle quil tūba le visaige [5] cōtre r̃e si que cestoit tres grant pitie de le veoir Et aussi tost q̃ le bourrel ot retiree sa hache le seigneur sailly sur les piez en disant. Helas hōme cōmēt fais tu cela pour Dieu deliure moy legieremēt Adonc lui donna il viij coups en lespaulle quil ne sauoir assener [6] on col ne en la teste ⁊ le ix[e] coup lui dōna on col [7] et encores parla

January 1400. (New style.)

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, perdre.

[2] *MS. O*, il eut tel hydeur au cuer.

[3] *MS. O*, haulcza la hache.

[4] *MS. Lebaud*, si grāt coup.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, quil chey le visaige; *MS. Y*, que son visage t'sbuscha cont' t're.

[6] ou col, pour au col; *MS. Le Beau*, ne sceust adrecer en la teste.

[7] *MS. O*, adds, 'et braz.'

le seignr disant Helas cōmēt fais tu ainsi Dieu mercy ⁊ lui coupa on dun coustel un petit la gorge pour la teste departir [1] du corps. Ainsi fu mis a mort le duc Dexcestre cōte Dontinton frere du noble Roy Richart Et le conte Darondel fist bouter la teste du duc sur un long baston ⁊ le cheualier fu liez les piez ⁊ les mains ⁊ amene a cheual et le bouteillier fu lie ⁊ trota a pie jusques a Londres ou ilz arriuerent le Lundi xix jour de Januier [2] enuiron disner Et le conte Darondel vint a Londres ⁊ ses menestrelz ⁊ trompetes deuāt la teste du duc Dexcestre ⁊ sen vint derriere a tout ses gens Et ceulx de Londres en faisoient grant feste ⁊ crioyent tous [3] a une voix. Dieu beneye le Roy Henry. ⁊ Dieu gart le prince ⁊ tout son conseil A tel jour mesmes arriua le conte de Rotelan lequel fist porter deuant lui la teste du sire Despensier conte de Clocestre sur un long baton ⁊ les menestrelz ⁊ trompetes alerent deuant. et les xij p̄sonniers sur ij charretes lesquelz furēt tous amenez ou chastel de Londres. Et le conte de Rotelan vint derriere les p̄sonniers a grant foison de gens darmes ⁊ darchiers. [4] Et cōmāda le Roy que on boutast les testes sur la porte du pont de Londres Et toutes les gens de Londres en faisoient grant feste. ⁊ crioient tous a une voix Dieu gart nostre seigneur le Roy Henry et mon seigneur le prince Or voulons faire guerre a tous ceulx du monde sauue [5] aux Flamens Et le feu arceuesque [6] de Cantorbye qui auoit nom Waldem ⁊ le bon euesque de Carlin on les fist venir hors des frāchiſ de Wastmonstier ⁊ furent amenez en la tour de Londres Un ber-

The head of the Earl of Huntingdon sent to London, 19th January 1400.

The heads of Despencer and Huntingdon placed on London Bridge.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Carlisle sent to the Tower.

[1] *MS. O*, separer.

[2] *MS. Le Beau*, le vingtième jour de Janvier.

[3] *MS. Le Beau*, et crioit le menu peuple.

[4] *MS. Le Beau* contains a long paragraph on the scandalous treachery of Rutland, to which it attributes all the subsequent calamities of the kingdom.

[5] *MS. Le Beau*, fors.

[6] *MS. Lebaud*, Et larceuesque.

gier des champs qui gardoit brebis [1] fist prendre le cure du Roy Richart qui auoit nom Magdelein [2] qui ressembloit le Roy Richart ⁊ fu amene en prison a Londres Et labbe de Wastmonst̃ fu prins et tout son auoir ⁊ fu mene a iiij petites lieues de Londres ⁊ apres fu il amene en la tour de Londres.

The Abbot of Westminster committed to the Tower.

ITEM le Mercredi apres la Chandeleur [3] au point du jour ala le conte Darondel a la justice du Roy Henry on chastel de Londres, et ceulx de la justice firent venir deuant eulx iij prelaz deux prestres ⁊ deux chl̃rs cest aſſ̃ le ꝑmier fu larceuesque de Cantorbye [4] Waldem, le ij^{e} fu leuesque [5] de Carlin, le iij^{e} fu labbe du Wastmonstier, ⁊ le iiij^{e} fu maistre Jehan Derby receueur [6] de Lincole, le v^{e} fu Magdelein, [7] le vj^{e} fu sire Bernard Broucas gascon ⁊ le vij^{e} fu le sire Scelle [8] jadiz maistre dostel du conte Dontinton a qui Dieux pardoint Il est verite q̃ tous ces vij seigneurs furẽt deuant la justice jusques a trois heures apres disner que la justice ne pot oncques trouuer achoison [9] pour eulx mectre a mort ne jugier, Et dist au conte Darondel quil en feist a sa voulente car il ny auoit cellui deulx qui eust desseruy mort ce dist la justice du Roy Adonc fu le conte Darondel si couroucie que cestoit grãt merueille Et q^{u}nt la justice fu partie du chastel, le

[1] *MS. Lebaud*, bestes; *MS. O*, ung berguier des champs epousa Madelain et fut mene a Londres; *MS. Le Beau* has no allusion to his marriage.

[2] *MS. Lebaud*, fist prendre Magdalein qui resembloit de visage le noble Roy Richart.

[3] *MS. Y*, Et le Mercredi deuant ñre Dñe chandelleur.

[4] *MS. Y*, larceuesque jadis de Cantorbiere.

[5] *MS. Lebaud*, le bon euesque.

[6] *MS. Gaignières*, cecepeur; *MS. Y*, receueur de limoz (!) et secretaire du Roy Richart; *MS. Ambass.*, Sir Jehan d'Elby, receveur de Lincolle.

[7] *MS. Y*, Madelin chappellain du Roy Richart.

[8] *Le Moine de St. Denys*, dominus Berncort Brocas Gasco, dominus de Selle et Magdelain. He gives also the preceding names in the like order.

[9] *MS.* 10212, ^{3b}, occasion.

cõte demanda au peuple Que voulez vous qui soit fait de ces gens cy Adonc crierẽt tous a une voix, Mon seigneur faictes les tous mectre a mort Et le conte respondy De par Dieu[1] ⁊ dist a Waldem qui estoit arceuesque Preudons,[2] monſr le Roy et le cõmun vo⁹ doniront vostre vye Grant mercy au Roy et a vous Et leuesque de Carlin et labbe de Wastmonstier furent remis en prison en attendant la grace de Dieu, Et les iiij seigneurs furẽt traisnez du chastel de Londres jusques a Terborne[3] la justice de la ville ou il y a deux petites lieues entre deux, Et sire Bernard Broucas fu amene a pie par iiij sergens par entre les iij qui furent traisnez et amenez jusques au Cepe on millieu de la ville Il fu si noire nuit que on ne pouoit goute veoir[4] Adonc le maire de la ville cõmanda a apporter xliiij torches ⁊ iiij falloz,[5] Et ilz furent ainsi traisnez jusques au gibet, la furẽt les iij traitres penduz ⁊ apres coupa on les cordes, Et on leur demãda Dictes entre vous lesquelz sont de vostre accort, La ne respondi nul fors que Magdelein lequel demanda piteusement au maire de Londres, Helas seray je escartellez, Le maire respondi Nennil par ma foy mais vous arez la teste coupee Adonc il respondi ainsi ⁊ mist ses mains ensemble toutes liees disant Sire Dieux je vous requier mercy ⁊ benoist soit Dieux quãt je fu oncques ne car je mourray ceste nuit ou seruice de mon souuerain seigneur le noble Roy Richart, Et sire Bernard Broucas fu le ꝑmier decolle, et apres lui Magdelein et le iijᵉ fu maistre Jehan Derby qui

Execution of Sir B. Brocas, Maudeleyn, and others, at Tyburn.

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[1] *MS. Le Beau*, et nous le ferons. Adonc parla Walden qui fut archeuesque de Cantorbie, moult ancien homme, et dist, Saincte Marie! sire, et me mettrez-vous à mort à la justice? Et le conte respondit, Pour ce que vous estes si vieil, le Roi et le commun vous rendent la vie.

[2] *MS. Lebaud* omits 'preudons;' *MS. Y*, prondomes monsr.

[3] *MS. Y*, insques au gibet.

[4] *MS. O*, et fut lors noire nuit.

[5] falloz pro falots.

ne parla mot autrement quil dist ses oroisons et ses prieres[1] et le iiij^e fu sire Escelle lequel auoit este maistre dostel du conte Dontinton a qui Dieux face vray pardon Amen.

TEM lan mil ccc iiij^xx ℸ xix le xij^e jour du moys de Mars fu amene en leglise Saint Pol de Londres en estat de gentil hõme le corps du noble Roy Richart. Et est verite que le chariot fu tout couuert dun drap noir a iiij banieres dessus de quoy les deux furent des armes Saint George et les aufs deux des armes Saint Edouart cest assauoir dasur a tout une croix dor a cinq mailles dor.[2] Et y auoit cent hõmes vestuz tous de noir ℸ portoit chun une torche. Et ceulx de Londres enuoyerent xxx torches ℸ xxx hõmes qui estoient vestuz de blãc qui alerent a lencontre du corps du noble Roy Richart ℸ fu amene a Saint Pol la maistresse eglise[3] de Londres. La fu il deux jours sur terre pour le monstrer a ceulx de Londres afin que ilz creussẽt pour certain quil fust mort[4] Je prie a Dieu quil lui face mercy[5] ℸ a tous les trespassez Amen Amen ℸc.

King Richard's corpse exhibited in St. Paul's, 12th March 1400. (New style.)

EXPLICIT.

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[1] *MS. O*, si non de dire son service.

[2] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], de asur a ung croiz dor a v mailles dor; *MSS. Lebaud, Gaignières,* and *Ambass.* omit 'a cinq mailles dor.'

[3] *MS. Lebaud,* la maistre eglise.

[4] *MS. Le Beau* adds, 'si est bien sans raison qu'on a dit en moult de lieux quil estoit en vie en Ecosse ou ailleurs.'

[5] *MS.* 10212, [3 b], et pardon; *MS. Lebaud* and *MS. Ambass.* add, 'et a tous les autres qui pour lamour de lui ont receu mort si cruelle cõme vous auez oy Amen.'

Addendum from MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi (MS. Lebaud).

Toutes uoies pour couurir la trayson de ceulx Dangleterre leur oppinion est quil ne morut point par la manieꝰ deuāt dĉe mais mouru auꝰment.

Opinion of the English that Richard died by voluntary starvation.

Cest assauoir que quant il oy dire q̃ son freꝰ le duc Dorcestre conte Dontinton, le duc de Sudrien, le conte de Salsebery, et les autres seigñrs estoient mors il fut si courrouciez quil jura lors q̃ jamais ne mangeroit, et fut iiij jours sans mēgier si cōme len dit, Et quāt le Roy Henry sot quil ne vouloit mēg̃ il lui enuoia des ꝑlas pour lui reconforꝰ et ordonner affin quil mengast, Et quant les ꝑlas furent deuers lui il se confessa a lun diceulx lequel lui donna en penitañ q̃l mengast Et quant il cuida menger il ne pot aualer sa viande car les conduiz de son corps estoient tous retraiz Et adonc dist le noble Roy Richart quil en estoit fait, et quil le cōuenoit mourir, Et ainsi mouru le Roy Richart selon ce quon dit, comꝺn q̃ les pluseurs tiennent mieulx q̃ auꝰment quil morut par la manieꝰ contenue en lauꝰ chappitre Auquel Dieux face vray ꝑdon a lame. Quant le noble Roy Richart fu mort et q̃ le Roy Henry fu Roy paisiblement adonc voult il sauoir quel ꝰsor le Roy Richart auoit Il fu ꝑmiereñt trouue en son tresoir ix^{c} mille nobles que valent xviij^{c} mille escuz sans ses joyaulx, et sans sa vaisselle qui en valoit bñ autant ou plus, ꝟ il fu trouue on tresor du ꝰsorier Dangleterre iij^{c} mille escuz qui valent cl mille nobles, sans ses joyaulx ꝟ sans sa vaiselle qui en valoient bñ autant ou plus, sans les joyaulx de la Royne que son pere le noble Roy de France lui auoit baillie a mariage, Icy fine la Cronique du noble Roy Richart.

The riches found in his treasury.

EXPLICIT.

ADDENDUM, No. 1.

From MS. No. 10212, [3], *Bibl. du Roi* (*MS. Lebaud*).

Cest la maniere cõment la Royne Dangleterre fille du noble Roy de France retourna en France apres ce q̃ le Roy Richart auoit este mis a mort par le consentemẽt [de Henry de Lenclastre[1]] de pluſs grans seigñrs ⁊ de tout le cõmun Dangleterre.

Verite est quant le noble Roy de France et son conseil sceurent la tribulacõn qui estoit en Angleẽre, et que les nouuelles vindrent q̃ le Roy Richart estoit mort ⁊ enterre a labbaie de Saint Alban, ou il auoit fait faire en son viuant une moult noble et riche sepulture en sa vie adonc le Roy Henry enuoia a Calais leuesque de Duresme et messire Thomas de Persy admiral Dangleterre pour sauoir quelle estoit loppinion des Anglois, et manderent lr̃es en France de par le Roy Henry par lesquelles ilz remcioient ſs grandemẽt le Roy et tous les seigñrs de la bonne cher quon lui auoit fait en France pour le temps quil fut banny auxquelles lr̃es ne leur fu point donne de responce, mais le Roy de France enuoia a Bouloigne un chr̃ appelle messire Jehan de Hangest seigñr de Heuguille, ⁊ ung docteur en sa compaignie pour parler aux ambaxadeurs Aglois ⁊ requierre cõment ilz voulsissent tenir les couuenans lesquelles ilz auoient fcẽs ⁊ jurees pour le temps du mariage du Roy Richart, et de la fille du noble Roy de France, lesquelt couuenans estoient q̃ se le Roy Richart ſpassoit auant le temps que la Royne feust en aige ilz deuoient rendre et restituer la Royne la finance ⁊

Henry sends ambassadors to France.

They do not proceed farther than Calais.

[1] An attempt has been made to erase these words with a penknife, but they are still legible.

les joyaulx qui furent baillt au mariage / de la quelle chose les Anglois ne furent pas bñ contens. Car leur oppinion estoit q̃ la Royne demourast en Angleterre tout son viuant / et disoiēt cōmunement / quil ſoit bon de faire le mariage du p̃nce de Galles filz auisne du Roy Henry et de la Royne fille du noble Roy de France / Et quant les ambaxadeurs Anglois orent oy la demande fce de par le Roy de France ilz sen retournerent en Angleterre.

Proposition for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Isabel.

De rechief quant le Roy Henry ot oy leur r̃nse se si en fut ts grandement esmueillie ⁊ courroucie car son oppinion nestoit pas de rendre la Royne ne aussi ne losoit bonnem̃t faire pour le peuple ⁊ cōmun Dangleterre lequel il doubtoit a courroucier / car ilz lauoient fait Roy en partie Et depuis furent long temps sans auoir nouuelles lun de laut.

Adonc le Roy y enuoia par pluseurs fois les diz chlr et maist Pierre lesqlx passerent en Engleterre par sauf conduit / et ne vouloit le Roy Henry accorder de rendre la Royne lequel disoit quelle pourroit aussi bñ mariet par de la cōme en France / et sen retournerent les ambaxadeurs Dangleterre par pluseurs fois sans auoir r̃nse du Roy Henry ne du cōmun Dangleterre.

Verite est q̃ tantost apres le Roy Henry enuoia son cōseil a Calais / cest aff leuesque de Duresme Thomas de Persy messire Thomas Darpinghem ⁊ pluseurs auts lesquelx tindrent pluseurs journees tant dun coste cōme daut en une place nōmee Lolignean miuoie de Calais et de Bouloigne auquel parlem̃t fut accorde quilz rendiriēt la Royne par ainsi quilz vouloient auoir quittañ de la finance qui auoit este baillt au mariage dessus nōme laquelle toutes uoies / ilz ne vouldrent point rendre.

Quant le Roy de France et son conseil sceurent et oyrent lentencon des diz Anglois / et q̃ bonnement

ne pourroient auoir la Royne auſment et pour le grāt desir que le Roy et la Royne auoient dauoir la Royne leur fille adonc fut ordonne de par le Roy quon leur feist quittañ de la dĉe finañ apres laquelle quittañ fĉe fut accorde enſ les pt̃ q̃ a un ĉtain jour ilz ameneroient la Royne Dangleſre a Calais.

Lan mil cccc ⁊ ung, on mois de Sept̃ ou enuiron party la Royne de Londres et vint a Douure, et dela mōta sur mer et vint descendre a Calais a moult belle cōpaignie et la fut iij jours, et estoit en sa cōpaignie le conte de Sonbrecest frere du Roy Henry meſſ Thomas de Pſsy et pluseurs autres seigñrs, et dames ⁊ damoiselles, et fut amenee de Calais a Lolignean, auquel lieu les Francois lattendoient en ĉs belle ordonnañ et arroy, et la firent les Anglois reposer en une riche tante, et un pou apres meſſ Thomas de Persy print la Royne par la main et lamena hors de la tante, et dist au conte de Saint Pol, Sire veez cy la Royne Dangleſre q̃ nous vous rendons, laquelle est vefue et vraie pucelle, et sil esṭ hōme ne qui voulsist dire le contraire feust Roy duc ou conte ou de quelque estat quil feust il trouueroit en Angleterre hōme selon son estat qui lui en ſndroit. Adonc le conte de Saint Pol respondi q̃ loez en feust Dieux et print la Royne de lune des mains et de lautre leur bailla la quittañ telle cōme au fait apptenoit, et atant les Anglois sen partirent, et sen retournerēt vers Calais, et la pres estoit monſ le duc de Bourgne monſ le duc de Bourbon et pluſs autres seigñrs dames ⁊ damoiselles, qui receurent la dĉe Royne nōmee Ysabel fille du ĉs noble Royne de France, et Royne Dangleſre et lamenerent joyeuseñt ⁊ a grant feste a Paris ou elle fut recue moult noblement et a grāt joie car tout le peuple auoit grant desir de la veoir.

Return of Isabel to France, September 1401.

EXPLICIT.

ADDENDUM, No. 2.

Instructions baillees de par le Roy a Monseigneur de Chartres et a Monseigneur de Heugueville. (Archives du Royaume, Paris. J. 649. *art.* 55.)

Memoire pour la Royne Dengleterre.

Inventory of the jewels claimed for Queen Isabel.

Veez ci le memoire des joyaux dont y puet souvenir donnez a la Royne Dangleterre depuis quelle parti de France.

Premierement a Saint Omer elle eut aucuns dons mes il n'en souvient fors de un riche fermail[1] que monseigneur de Bourgoigne li donna.

Item a Calais le Roy d'Angleterre li donna un cercle de demi ront[2] de gros balais[3] et de saffiers et de grosses perles.

Item il lui donna en la tour de Calais hors du chastel un henap[4] d'or et une esguiere[5] bien riche.

Item il lui donna une esconse[6] d'or, un coffin pour chandelles un mouschoir[7] a chandelier moult riche.

Item monseigneur de Glocestre li donna la voille de ses nosses un eigle d'or blanc fait de pierrerie et de perles.

Item le dit duc de Glocestre li donna le jour de ses nosses une coronne d'or a huit flerons.

Item le conte de Hondicon li donna la un henap d'or et une esguiere.

Item la duchesse de Glocestre li donna le jour de ses noces un grant henap d'or couvert tenant environ iij quartes.

Item la duchesse de Hondichon li donna un beau diamant.

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[1] A clasp.
[2] A frontlet.
[3] Balais, rubies.
[4] A drinking vase.
[5] Un aiguière (ewer).
[6] A lantern.
[7] Pro mouchette.

Item le duc d'Aumarle conte de Rotheland li donna le jour de ses noces, un cercle de pierrerie fait a maniere de jardins. Queen Isabel's jewels.

Item le conte de Hondicon li donna le dit jour un fermaillet a un diamant ou millieu a iij balais rubis et trois grosses perles qui disoit qui ly avaient couste xviij mille francs.

Item le conte mareschal li donna le dit jour une croiz d'or a un grant pie tout de pierrerie et de perlerie.

Item le duc de Lenclaistre li donna uns grans tableaux couvers de pierres et de perles.

Item la duchesse de Lanclastre li donna un henap d'or couvert et une esguiere paree de pierres et de perles.

Item les evesques qui estoient la a Calais li donnerent quatre paire de grans bassins d'argent dorez ce mesme jour.

Item tant de la ville que des evesques et que de damez li fut donne a la montance[1] de xxiiij a xxvj henaps d'or et desguieres et de paternostres d'or bien viij pairez et de tableaux d'or a la montance de xvj ou xviij pieces grans et mendres.

Item les enfans au duc de Glocestre li donnerent vj henaps ducys[2] d'or sans les autres henaps et tasses qui la li furent donez bien largement.

Item a Calais li furent donnes deux grans bassins d'or au souleil et plusieurs autres d'argent qui li ont este donnez en plusieurs lieux depuis.

Item a Douvres li fut donne a l'entree du chasteau une couronne d'or et moult d'autres riches dons li furent donnez par les dames qui l'encontrerent.

Item a Cantheberi le Roy son seigneur lui donna une couronne tres riche d'or de pierrez et de perles.

[1] A la montance, environ.

[2] Ducys; query, addoucis, *i.e.* gilt, or polished.

Queen Isabel's jewels.

Item l'archevesque et la ville li firent grans dons.

Item a Eltham le Roy li donna un tres bel flequart [1] tout papelote de grosses perles.

Item il li donna un colier tout fait de dyamans de rubiz et de grosses perles.

Item le duc d'Aumarle li donna un autre collier acosses [2] a rondiollez et a chacune rondiolle un rousmarin [3] fait a une perle ou millieu et une autrusse et un rubis en lespaule.

Item a Douvre li fut donne une saliere d'or a la maniere de un serf.[4]

Item a Elthan le duc de Lanclastre li envoia un henap d'or couvert et une esguiere ouvree a pierrerie.

Item ma dame de Lanclastre li donna un autre henap d'or couvert.

Item le conte d'Erby li donna la un levrier d'or a un rubiz balais a une grosse perle pendant au coul.

Item le conte mareschal li donna un mirouer d'or garni de pierrez et de perles et une sainture [5] de perlez ay gregoiz d'or [6] et les bous a perles et a pierres.

Item le conte de Roteland li donna un mirouer d'or a facon de une marguerite.

Item le Roy li donna une moult belle sainture a plusme d'or longue pour mectre a escherpe.

Item il lui donna une boutonneux [7] d'or de vj esglez semez de pierrez et de perles.

Item le dit Roy li donna un cercle d'or a ij dyamans et iiij grosses perlez et un petit dyamant ou millieu et un rubiz apres Si tout ainssi apres tout entour.

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[1] Flequart pro floquart, a tassel.

[2] In the form of a bean-pod.

[3] Synonymous with genêt, the broom-plant, Richard's device.

[4] Pro cerf.

[5] Pro ceinture.

[6] Of Grecian gold.

[7] The sleeves of the end of the fourteenth century were fastened with a row of buttons from the wrist to the elbow.

Item un chapeau de grosses perles fait a maniere de roses assiz sus veloux vermoil et de boutons pendans d'or blancs et vers. Queen Isabel's jewels.

Item le dit Roy li donna un serf a vj grosses perles et un saffir ou millieu.

Item quant la Royne disna o le duc de Lanclastre il li donna un beau fermail d'or sur les espicez.

Item le conte mareschal li donna un henap d'or et une esguiere.

Item quant la Royne entra a Londres tous ducs, contes, evesques, et seigneurs li donnerent grans dons les uns henaps d'or, et esguieres, tableaux, dyamans saffirs et autres grans dons.

Item quant elle fut a loustel du duc de Lenclastre il li donna une grant couppe d'or et une esguiere et ma dame une mendre et une esguiere.

Item le Roy li donna une coiffe de perles assise a maniere de triffle [1] et de grosses perles.

Item levesque d'Ast qui estoit legat li donna un frontelet de rubiz et de grosses perlez que on disoit qu'il valoit plus de iij mille francs.

Item le Roy li donna a Coïntre uns tableaux d'or tout pare de perlez et de pierres.

Item a Listhenflic [2] le Roy li donna un moult riche gobelet de leuvre de Venisse.

Item a Londres il fut donne de par la ville un sercle d'or fait a pierres et a perles que on disoit qu'il avoit couste xij mille frans.

Item le Roy li donna quant elle fut couronnee a Londres un sercle de dyamans rubiz et perles tres riche.

Item le duc de Bretaigne li donna un fermail bien riche, un grant rubi ou millieu et grosses perles.

Item le conte de Roteland li donna a Licheflic

[1] Pro trèfle.

[2] Litchfield, January 1398.

Queen Isabel's jewels.

unez heures les essellez d'or couvertes de dyamans pierres et perles.

Item le duc de Yorc li donna un fermail, un grant dyamant ou millieu et grosses perles.

Item le evesque de Jichestre li donna aux estraignes a Eltham un grant ymage de notre Dame dargent grant comme un enfant de v ans.

Item le conte de Honditton li donna un bersel[1] d'or aussi comme de pie et demi de lont.

Item ma dame de Moulins li donna un bersel[1] d'argent bel et gracieux.

Item ma dame de Nothefort[2] li envoia par plusieurs fois moult de riches dons henaps d'or et esguieres et grans tableaux.

Item les grans villes Dangleterre, comme Yorc, Bristoul, Covñtre, Vincestre, Glocestre, Nothenthon,[3] Salteberi, Lichefict, Sestre,[4] Thyreausberi,[5] Londels, Nothigam, et cetera, li ont fais de grans et riches dons.

Item le conte de la Marche par plusieurs fois li donna de tres grans dons henaps et esguieres d'or.

Item touz les ans aux estrainez touz grans seigneurs, damez et prelas li donnoient grans dons de quoy il ne puet pas souvenir quant a present qui est tres grant chose qui bien le sauroit.

Item quant le Roy ala en Irlande il lui laissa une chappelle[6] ordonnee richement cest assavoir touaillez, messel, calice, vestemens, communs, bon ensencier d'argent deux paire de vestemens fourniz pour prestre dyacre soubz dyacre de drap d'or bien riche

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[1] A chain or bracelet.

[2] Norfolk.

[3] Northampton.

[4] Chester.

[5] Shrewsbury.

[6] The word 'chapelle' implied all that was necessary for the celebration of divine worship. The duke of Orleans kept a 'roucin gris,' a grey horse, expressly to carry his 'chapelle.' (Champollion, *Vie des Ducs d'Orléans*, i. 116.)

chappez frontel dosier et xiij draps d'or a parer la chapelle. Queen Isabel's jewels.

Item *cestui qui se dit*[1] Roy li a donne et si la retenu par de la, il li envoia aux premieres estraignes quant il fut venu une couppe d'or et une esguiere grans et bons et riches.

Item quant il la vint voir a Foulen[2] une coupe d'or et une esguiere, item aux estraines apres une coupe d'or et une ayguiere.

Item a Bermondesay une coupe d'or et une esguiere.

Item quant il departi de elle hors de Londres il li donna une moult riche attache qui avoit este portee de France la quelle il veult descompter ou nombre des joyaux.

Item on a retenu en Angleterre ses robes son linge, ses chambres, ij chars et une letiere.

Item elle est contesse de Penebroc, dame de Nothingan, et autres terres que son seigneur li avoit donnees a sa vie.

Item toutes les terres du conte de la Marche et les revenuez dicelles li furent donneez jusques a xvij ans qui valent par an plus de 1 mille frans.

Item le jour de ses nosses li furent envoiez et donnez par nosseigneurs de France qui furent presens moult de grans dons et depuis ont este envoiez pour estraignes moult de riches joyaux de par son pere, mere et amis qui sont demourez par dela.

Item elle avoit une flour de lix garnie de pierrerie et de perles moult riche quelle porta le jour de ses nosses pour fermail.

Et saichent toux que ce qui est icy escript n'est pas tout ce qui doit appartenir a la dicte Royne d'Angleterre mes sen fault tant que ce seroit fort de le savoir nombrer.

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[1] I have printed these words in italics for the purpose of calling attention to them.

[2] Fulham.

CHRONICLE

OF THE

BETRAYAL AND DEATH

OF

RICHARD KING OF ENGLAND.

‘ Les sages clercs adont par leur signifiance
En firent les chronicques qui sont de grant vaillance.’

Roman de Doolin de Mayence.

HERE FOLLOWETH

THE CHRONICLE

OF

THE BETRAYAL AND DEATH

OF

RICHARD KING OF ENGLAND.

KING RICHARD restored the city and castle of Brest to the Duke of Brittany in the year thirteen hundred fourscore and sixteen;[1] and when the Duke had received the said city, he turned out and dismissed all the soldiers who were therein: and upon the arrival of the garrison in England, then began the divisions

A. D. 1397. (New style.) Restoration of Brest.

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[1] The Duke of Brittany surrendered the town and lordship of Brest to the King of England, by treaty dated 5th April, 1 Richard II. (1378,) until the termination of the war, on consideration of his receiving one hundred and twenty thousand francs of gold, and a castle in England of the value of seven hundred marcs per annum. (Rot. Parl. iii. 9. Rymer, Fœdera, vii. 190.) He was assigned the castle and lordship of Rysing in Norfolk, as well as the manor of Sevenhampton and hundred of Heleworth in the county of Wilts, to hold, inter alia, until the restoration of Brest. (Fœdera.) The restoration of Brest had been already agreed upon at the conference of Lelinghen in Oct. 1396, as has been already mentioned. (See Preface.) The order to John Drax, Sergeant-at-arms, to receive the castle, town, and outworks of Brest from John Earl of Huntingdon, and to deliver them up to the Duke of Brittany, is dated 7th April 1397, or 1396 old style; for the year 1397 did not then commence (nor until the time of Charles IX.) until Easter-day, which fell, in 1397, upon

A. D. 1397. between the King and his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, and many other lords.

Return of the garrison to England in June, or the beginning of July.

It is to be observed that King Richard held a feast at Westminster, when he declared his intention of going to Bristol. And straightway at this feast arrived the said soldiers who had held Brest for the King, who were received at dinner in the King's hall. When the dinner was over and the King had taken wine and comfits,[1] the Duke of Gloucester said to the

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the 22nd of April. Several preliminary agreements had been entered into, the previous month of March, with the Duke's ambassadors, the Bishop of Leon, and others, who were then in England, to the effect that the ransom of one hundred and twenty thousand francs of gold should be paid to William le Scrop, the Vice-chamberlain, in the city of Rennes, at Easter; and that, three weeks after the payment had been made, Brest should be delivered up. The Duke was to make oath on the holy Gospels that he would not make war against the King, and that he would do his utmost to induce his son to do the same when he should be fourteen years of age. (Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council, i. 64, 67.) The ransom was not paid, however, until the 16th of May. Further instructions were sent out to Drax, dated 28th May (Fœdera, vii. 852); and Brest was eventually surrendered, in exchange for the lands the Duke held in England, on the 12th June 1397. (Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, ii. 793.) It was therefore probably towards the end of June or the beginning of July that the garrison returned to England.—The 'franc d'or' of Charles V. was worth twenty silver sous. Sixty-two were coined from the mark, or half-pound of gold, and it was consequently of the value of nine shillings English. (Le Blanc sur les Monnaies de France.) For the *relative* value of the franc d'or, see 'Mémoires sur l'appréciation de la fortune privée au moyen age, par M. C. Leber.'

[1] After dinners of ceremony, it was usual to offer hypocras, wine, and comfits. (Vie privée des Français.) The comfits were offered in boxes of gold or silver. Amongst others, I find confiture of aniseed, 16 sous the lb.; of nuts, 7 sous; 'sucre rosat,' 10 sous; 'manucristi,' 10 sous; 'madrien,' 12 sous; 'paste du Roy,' 12 sous; sugar-plums, 10 sous; and citron, 12 sous the lb. (Original MS. of the Duke of Orleans, Bibl. du Roi.) At the conference of Charles VI. and Richard, held at Lelinghen in 1396, the wine and comfits were handed, after the dessert, to the former King by the Duke of Gloucester, to the latter by the Duke of Orleans. (Le Laboureur, Vie de Charles VI.) Upon the occasion of the Queen's dining with John of Gaunt, he placed a rich golden clasp upon the comfits handed to the Queen after dinner, which present she accepted. (See the list of Isabel's jewels, p. 111.)

King, 'My lord, have you not remarked at dinner our companions which are here?' The King replied, 'Good uncle,[1] what companions do you mean?' 'My lord,' said the Duke, 'they are your people who have come from Brest, who have faithfully served you, but have been badly paid, and know not what to take to.' And the King said that they should be paid in full; and, in fact, commanded that four good villages near London should be given up to them, that they might there live at his expense until they received their due.[2] Then replied the Duke of Gloucester very proudly, 'Sire, you ought first to hazard your life in capturing a city from your enemies, by feat of arms or by force, before you think of giving up or selling any city which your ancestors, the Kings of England, have gained or conquered.'[3] To which the King answered very

A. D. 1397. Dispute between the King and the Duke of Gloucester.

[1] The phrase 'Bel oncle' will perhaps strike the reader. As a proof that nothing more than 'good uncle' is meant, we meet at page 20 of the Chronicle with 'Beau Sire Dieu.'

[2] The Monk of St. Denys remarks, that the citizens repeatedly complained of these soldiers to the Duke of Gloucester; which so excited his anger, that he feared not to tell the King he ought not to deliver his land to (the mercy of) foreign soldiers; but, after he had restored the cities which his predecessors had so laboriously acquired, he should have taken others from the enemy where they might lodge. (Chronicles, B. xvii. c. 20.)

[3] Most of the French chroniclers mention Richard's marriage with the daughter of France, and his restoration of Cherbourg and Brest, as the principal causes of his downfall. (Mezeray, Juvenal des Ursins, and Gaguin, Compendium super Francorum gestibus; Paris, 1500. N.B. Gaguin was ambassador to England in 1489. Moréri.) The cession of Anjou and Maine to the father of his consort Margaret was, in like manner, a main cause of the unpopularity of Henry VI.

'The King of the French knew that Brest was a favourite retreat of the English, and an object of their particular solicitude; that they spared no expense to furnish it abundantly with all sorts of necessaries, and that they often sent there arms, victuals, and recruits. They often remarked, By Saint George! the French may curse us, but they will never hurt us here, unless they can starve us out.' (Chroniques du Moine de St. Denys.)

Brest and Cherbourg (Cesaris Burgus), with Calais and Bordeaux, were nearly all that remained to the English in 1395 of their ancient possessions in France, and of all their conquests by Edward III. But they were

A. D. 1397. scornfully, 'What is that you say?' The Duke, his uncle, then repeated what he had before said. Upon which the King was very wroth, and said to the Duke, 'Do you think that I am a merchant or a traitor, that I wish to sell my land? By St. John the Baptist, no, no; but it is a fact that our cousin of Brittany has restored, and well and truly paid us the sum which our ancestors had lent him on the city of Brest; and, since he has honestly paid us, it is only just he should have his pledge back again.' Thus began the quarrel

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the keys of so many provinces: Calais of Picardy, Cherbourg of Normandy, Brest of Brittany, and Bordeaux of Gascony. (Gaillard, Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi, i. 373.) There is no doubt that they were of the utmost consequence as points from which they might make at will incursions into the neighbouring territory, and as places of retreat; — for instance, the English and Navarrese knights of the garrison of Cherbourg joined the expedition against the city of Nantes in 1381, and returned thence by land to Cherbourg after the failure of the expedition.

The discontent of the people on the restoration of the two fortresses was heightened by the fact that Richard had returned them without having received back an equivalent for the aid the English had made such great sacrifices to give to the Duke of Brittany and the King of Navarre, and more especially as they (the Duke and the King) had been the first to break faith with England. Richard had only received for them a very moderate sum, which was soon spent on his useless indulgences. After the defeat of Richard's forces in 1387 by the Duke of Gloucester and the young Earl of Derby, a letter was found from the French King, in which he mentioned his expectation of being put in possession of Cherbourg and *Calais*; and, upon the arrival of the Count St. Pol in 1396, it was rumoured that his object was to treat for the restoration of the latter city, concerning which the Londoners remonstrated formally with the King, who had some difficulty in appeasing them. (Froissart, B. iv. c. 56, and others.) The French nation at this period attached the utmost importance to their regaining possession of Calais.

Eustace Deschamps, a contemporary poet, has a ballad, the burden of every stanza of which is—

'Paix u' arez jà s'ilz ne rendent
Calays.'
(MS. 7219. Bibl. du Roi; published by Crapelet.)

It was on the 27th Oct. 1393 that Richard ordered Robert Whiteney and John Melton to receive the castle and town of Cherbourg from the hands of John Golafre, captain, and to deliver the same to the procurator of the King of Navarre. (Rot. Franc. 20 Ric. II.)

between the King and the Duke of Gloucester. It is true that they parted politely and with civil words, as they were bound to do; but their distrust was by no means the less because they separated with civil words before the people; and the mistrust continued between the King and the Duke of Gloucester without any more disputes until a short time afterwards; and they continued to give each other a civil reception, but with a bad will, as is too much the case with the Duke and many others of the kingdom of England.[1] A. D. 1397. They separate with apparent friendship.

Now there was an Abbot[2] at St. Albans, twenty

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[1] It appears that from this time the Duke of Gloucester retired to Pleshy and his other manors; which retirement, as Rapin remarks, was the cause of his ruin, inasmuch as his absence gave his enemies every opportunity to prejudice the King's mind against him. The Duke had lately bought the manors of Westcot, Bucks, and Newenham, Gloucester, with parts of the manors of Northamstede, Herts, and of Wetherfells in Essex, of Henry of Lancaster. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. 6th July.) The Dukes of York and Lancaster, in order that they might not be mixed up with the disputes, also retired to their castles; the latter taking with him his Duchess, who had some time been the companion of the young Queen. Sir Thomas Percy also at this time surrendered his office of Steward of the Household, according to Froissart; but, if he did so, he certainly returned to office, as he was in attendance upon Richard in that capacity in 1399.

[2] John de la Moote, Abbot of St. Albans, succeeded his predecessor Thomas de la Mare, who died Sept. 15th, 1396. (Dugdale, Monasticon.) His predecessor lived to a very advanced age, and, his health having broken down in 1389, he discontinued his attendance upon Parliament. There had been a squabble between him and the Abbot of Westminster for precedence in Parliament. Walsingham mentions sarcastically, that Richard, as he was riding from Daventry to London, in 1383, which journey he accomplished in one night, borrowed the palfrey of the Abbot of St. Albans, in exchange for one of his jaded horses, which he takes care to tell us he never returned. (Hist. Ang. p. 305.) It may be that it was in remembrance of this service, that Richard presented, in 1389, Robert Dyngle, Abbot of St. Albans, (I presume the locum tenens of Thomas de la Mare,) with a tun of Gascon wine. (Præstita in Wardrobe Accounts.) This little circumstance may explain to us that Walsingham was not likely to have reported any conspiracy in which the Abbot of St. Albans was concerned. I sus-

A. D. 1397. Plot laid at St. Albans.

miles distant from London, in England, who was godfather to the Duke of Gloucester, and had held him over the font in baptism after his birth, which took place at Woodstock,[1] beyond Oxford. There was also a Prior at Westminster,[2] near London, who was a great friend of the Duke's, and of the said Abbot of St. Albans. The Abbot of St. Albans, godfather of the said Duke, sent to seek the great Prior of Westminster, and requested him, by message, to come and speak to him without delay,[3] for that it would be greatly to his interest. And when the Prior arrived at St. Albans, he was received at a great feast held at

The Abbot sends for the Prior of Westminster.

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pect that Robert Dyngle is the party in question in our narrative, as the Monk of Evesham and MS. Reg. 13. c. 1, report the Earl of Warwick to have said to the King, that it was the Abbot of Westminster *that then was* who, with others, induced him to join in the conspiracy. John de la Moote may not have yet taken possession of the abbacy.

Richard had not been so liberal a contributor as his predecessors to the abbey of St. Albans. Dugdale reports a donation of his of one hundred shillings to the convent and monastery, and fifty pounds towards the repairs of the Tynemouth Gate. (Monasticon, ii. 218.) It was the Abbot of St. Albans who, with the Bishop of Chester and the Abbot of Waltham, were appointed by Henry to perform the last offices to the supposed remains of Richard at Langley. (Walsingham, Ypod. Neust.)

[1] The MS. reads 'Howstoc,' and Stow's translation (MS. 6219. Harleian) 'Howstok.' There can be no doubt of the place intended, as the Duke was well known as Thomas of Woodstock. Pierre Salmon, secretary to Charles VI., calls it 'Houdescot, près de la cite Doncsenefort.' (Vie de P. Salmon, par Crapelet, p. 54.) The Editor's name has been frequently written Houliame by the French.

[2] 'Brother John Wortyng, Prior of the abbey of Westminster, Brother John Lakynghithe, Bailiff of the same abbey, and Brother Peter Combe, Sacristan, owe the King £21 per annum for the Priory of Folkestone in the hands of the King on account of the war existing between the King and those of France.' (Pipe Rolls, 23 Rich. II.) After Henry's banishment, Richard gave two of his candelabra and six silver-gilt shields, which were formerly the property of John of Gaunt, to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. (Pell Issue Rolls, June 30, 1399.)

[3] The expressive phrase of one of the Rouen MSS., 'without providing provender-bags for the horses,' will not escape the reader's attention; but perhaps nothing more may be meant than 'sans faire demoures (demeure),' without delay.

the chambers of the Abbot, where he found the Duke of Gloucester seated at dinner; and the Abbot and Prior seated themselves at the bottom of the Duke's table. After dinner, at the collation, the Abbot began and said to the Prior, 'So may God and St. George aid you! tell us, did you not have last night a vision of anything in the world?' 'Yes,' said the Prior. 'Then tell us now, Prior,' said the Duke, 'the truth of your vision.' Then fell the Prior down upon his knees before the Duke in the presence of the Abbot, and besought the Duke and the prelate that they would pardon him what he was about to tell of his vision, for he would much rather be silent than reveal it. The Abbot said to the Prior, 'Speak out boldly, my lord forgives you.' The Prior then said, 'By St. George, my lords, it was revealed to me last night (forgive me) that the kingdom would be lost by our Lord the King Richard.' Then said the Abbot, 'By the Virgin Mary, the like was revealed to me also, and I will give you, my lord and godson, a reason why I beg that you will not be displeased, because we have told our visions at your request; for you can see how matters go when a king begins to give away his cities, which his ancestors have acquired by war, for gold or silver, as the King our Lord has begun to do; that is to say, that he has restored two fortresses into the hands of his enemies, which were useful and profitable to the kingdom of England; for you very well know that he has restored Brest to the Duke of Brittany, and Cherbourg to the King of Navarre, which were useful and profitable for our kingdom of England in making war.'[1] Then answered the Duke to the

A. D. 1397. Their interview with the Duke of Gloucester.

[1] It must be confessed that the numerous expeditions and victories of Edward III. had engendered not only a spirit of restlessness amongst a great portion of the people of England, but also a

A. D. 1397. The Duke of Gloucester appoints a meeting at Arundel.

Abbot and to the Prior that it should be effectually remedied, and that shortly: he afterwards added, 'I beg, between yourselves, that you will not fail to be at Arundel this day fortnight to dinner, and there we will dine together.' After the Duke of Gloucester had left St. Albans, he returned to his house in London, and sent a sealed letter to the Earl of Derby,[1] begging him to come to speak to him at Arundel on the day that the said Abbot and Prior would be there.

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desire to enrich themselves with the spoils of their enemies. About the middle of the fourteenth century there was scarcely a female who could be styled a gentlewoman that had not in her house some portion of the spoils of furniture, silk, plate, or jewels, from Caen, Calais, or the cities beyond the sea (Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 168); and at the taking of Barfleur so much valuable booty was acquired, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. (Froissart.) Probably the following picture, drawn by a native of France at the accession of Charles VI., is not much over-coloured.

'Violating continually the treaties of peace, they issued from their maritime retreat, from that corner of land at the extremity of the world; and infesting, now Aquitaine, and now the coasts of France, they forcibly entered the suburbs, taking the inhabitants prisoners, taking away the small and large cattle; and, setting fire to the corn, they burnt alike that which was already harvested, as well as that which was in sheaves in the fields, and that which was still under foot.' (Chronicles of the Monk of St. Denys.)

We read, however, that at an earlier period, towards the close of the ninth century, the Normans had been guilty of the same, or greater, excesses towards the Franks.

Such was the terror that they inspired, that the Franks fled at their approach, carrying away with them their treasures. The barbarians discovered their retreats in the forests, in caverns, and even in the mountains of Auvergne; and the people saw no hope of mercy but from the aid of heaven. We read in the litanies of the times these doleful words: — 'From thunder and lightning, from sudden death, *and from the sword of the Normans*, Good Lord, deliver us.' (Les Reines de France, par Mlle. A. Telliez.)

[1] Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, who afterwards became successively Duke of Hereford, Duke of Lancaster, and King Henry IV. He was occasionally styled Henry of Bolyngbrok, Earl of Hereford, and Lord of Brecon. Vide the warrants for the appointment of his constable of the castle of 'Breken,' and his chief seneschal of his lordship of 'Breken;' dated from Bolyngbrok, 26th June, 11 Ric. II., and 20th March, 14 Ric. II. Rot. Pat.

Afterwards he sent to the Earl Marshal,[1] who was captain of Calais, to the Earl of Warwick, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury,[2] and desired that they would come to Arundel on a certain day; and he also sent to the Earl of Arundel to say that he would come to dine there with him, and that he would bring with him all the other lords. The Earl of Arundel returned him answer, that he would be right welcome, and all the lords it would please him to bring with him in his company. It is true that the Duke of Gloucester arrived at Arundel the eighth day before the month of August in the year thirteen hundred fourscore and sixteen,[3] as well as the Earl of

A.D. 1397. He invites the Earl Derby and other peers to attend.

[1] Thomas of Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the first hereditary Earl Marshal, shortly afterwards created Duke of Norfolk. He was then absent from Calais on furlough. His leave of absence is dated Oct. 3, 1396, extending for one year. The assigned reason is, that he might travel into Picardy for matters relating to the safe custody of the city. (Rymer, Fœdera.) Chastelain's version calls him '*fustre* cappitaine de Calleys.' I have not been able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of this word. The Earl could boast of royal descent by his mother Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Lord Segrave by Margaret Plantagenet, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, youngest son of Edward the First by his second consort, Margaret of France. (Dugdale, Baronage.)

[2] Thomas Fitzalan, third son of the late Earl of Arundel. He had been Bishop of Ely, and Chancellor, during the prosecution of Richard's favourites. He was afterwards translated to York, and succeeded Archbishop Courtenay in the see of Canterbury in August 1397, according to the Monk of Evesham, but in 1395 according to Spelman. (Concilia.)

[3] As Brest was not given up till June 1397, this is undoubtedly a wrong date. It should have been August 1397, and I think it very probable that it was so in the original MS. The Monk of St. Denys in his chronicles corrects the error. 'At the head of the factious (anno 1397) was the King's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl Arundel, and the Earl Warwick, who, as we have related, conspired *the preceding year* against the King.' (Chronicles of the Monk of St. Denys, chap. v. b. xviii.) (It must never be forgotten that the year commenced at Easter.) The London Chronicle places Gloucester's arrest on the 21st of July. The conspiracy was revealed before the middle of the month, and probably before the meeting at Arundel; for, on the 13th of July 1397, an order was made out for the arrest of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick. (Rymer, Fœdera.) This order, agreed upon at Windsor, does not appear to have been issued, as a second or-

A. D. 1397. Meeting of the conspirators at Arundel, July 1397.

Derby, the Earl Marshal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of St. Albans, and the Prior of Westminster. As these lords were seated at dinner, there arrived the Earl of Warwick;[1] and when he joined the company of the lords, the Duke of Gloucester said to him, 'My brave man, you must take the same oath as we have taken:' and the Earl replied, 'My lord, what do you wish me to swear?' The Duke said, 'You will swear as we have done, if you please, to be true and faithful to the realm, and also to be true and faithful to each other.'

That night all the lords rested at Arundel, and the morrow they heard mass, and the Archbishop of Canterbury chaunted the mass and gave the sacrament to the Duke of Gloucester, then to the Earl of Derby, to the Earl of Arundel his brother, and to the Earl Marshal, who had married the daughter of the Earl of Arundel, and afterwards to the Earl of Warwick. And when all the lords had been to mass, they retired to a council-chamber, and there were of accord to seize the noble King Richard, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duke of York, and that they should be put in prison for ever; and that all the other lords of the council of King Richard should be drawn and hung. Such was their counsel and their oath, and such their determination, and it was to be put in execution in the month of August thirteen hundred fourscore and sixteen. It is true that the Earl Marshal, who was captain of Calais, revealed to King Richard all their counsel, and informed him of the day

der was made and published from Westminster on the 28th of the month. (Fœdera.)

[1] Thomas, son of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, by Catherine, daughter of Roger Mortemer, first Earl of March. Perhaps the Earl was the more readily induced to join the conspirators, as he would naturally be incensed at the loss of the honour of Gower, recovered at this time by the Earl Marshal. See Otterbourne, Scriptores Veteres, p. 189.

when they were to begin to put it into execution. A. D. 1397.
And when the King heard the news from the Earl Marshal, who was of their accord and undertaking in appearance, and not in fact; he said to the Earl, 'Take care what you say, for if I find it true, I will pardon you; but if I find it otherwise, assuredly you shall repent it.' To which the Earl Marshal replied, 'If you find it otherwise, let me be quartered and sent to the four ends of England: and be upon your guard, I beseech you.' And shortly after, these very words were plainly declared in open parliament, when the Earl of Arundel was condemned to death. And this matter being thus heard, the King[1] went to dine in London in the house of his brother the Earl of Huntingdon,[2] in the street behind the church of All Hallows, on the banks of the river Thames, and which was a right fair house.[3] After dinner the King made the matter known to his council, who were of accord that the King should mount to horse with his

The Earl Marshal discloses the conspiracy.

[1] King Richard was then residing at Eltham, where he left his Queen and most of his suite. (Froissart, B. iv. ch. 57.)

[2] John of Holand, half-brother to King Richard by his mother Joan, who, before her marriage with the Black Prince, was the widow of Thomas Earl of Kent. He was then Chamberlain of England, and was shortly afterwards created Duke of Exeter. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and was thus brother-in-law to the Earl Derby. Thomas Earl of Kent, afterwards Duke of Surrey, was his nephew.

[3] In the Pipe Rolls, 1 Hen. IV., mention is made 'of a certain house of John Holand, knight, brother to the King, (which formerly belonged to Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk,) situate in Lumbarde strete, London, which lately came into the King's hands by the judgment of Parliament against the said Michael; which said house the King, on the 7th day of April, in the 11th year of King Richard II., gave to the aforesaid John Holand by inheritance during the King's pleasure, as is mentioned in the 11th of King Richard II.' This magnificent palace, situate in the parish of All-Hallows the less, was called Cold Harborough, and also Poultney's Inn, by which name it was known in the time of Henry VI. It was so named from Sir John Poultney, four times Lord Mayor of London. The year following, 1398, Edmund Earl of Cambridge (second son of the Duke of York) had this house, and was there lodged. (Stow, B. 206. See also the Preface.)

A. D. 1397. The King sets out to arrest the Duke of Gloucester.

brother the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Earl Marshal in his company, and that they should collect all the people they could find.[1] And straightway the King mounted to horse at six o'clock, at the hour of supper; at which the people of London had great marvel.[2] And when the King came near the court of the house where the Duke of Gloucester dwelt, he ordered his brother the Earl of Huntingdon to go forward with a few of his people, to ask if the Duke was at home, and to say that the King was coming to

[1] It appears to have been then the custom to collect forces when the emergency occurred. Strange as it may appear in our day, we read in the subsequent parts of the history of twenty thousand men and upwards being collected at one or two days' notice.

[2] According to Chastelain's MS. the King set out for Pleshy 'at six o'clock in the evening, at the hour of supper;' and the meaning of *MS. Y* would appear to be, that the Earl of Huntingdon and the Earl Marshal, having been engaged all day in collecting the 'petite bataille' which is afterwards spoken of, set out with the King, at six in the evening, for Pleshy. MS. 9745, 3, Bibl. du Roi, makes Richard set out 'about six o'clock, after dinner,' and arrive at Pleshy very early the next morning. MS. 752, *Gaignières*, 'a 6 heures et droit a leure de souper.' Jean de Waurin, MS. 6746, Bibl. du Roi (Chroniques d'Angleterre), represents Richard as leaving London 'sur les vespres.' The Monk of Evesham and Froissart alike agree that Richard set out to arrest the Duke in the evening. Froissart relates that he arrived at the Duke's house at Pleshy (near Havering-at-Bower), Essex, late in the evening, after the Duke had finished his supper; and he states that a 'petit souper' was prepared for the King. As the King had many archers with him, this could scarcely have been the case; and it must have been an early hour in the morning before the party could have arrived there. He moreover states that the Duke was *at once* put on board a ship, which was in waiting in the Thames, and sent to Calais.

The Père d'Orléans states that the arrest was effected 'at a place called Plaksley, whither Gloucester had been enticed under the pretence of joining a hunting party;' but he appears to have been ignorant that Gloucester had a seat there. (Hist. des Révolutions d'Angleterre.)

The Rolls of Parliament declare that he was arrested as he came forth in procession to meet the King: 'domino Regi cum processione solempni humiliter occurrentem;' but that account was inserted by Henry's Chancellor, the keeper of his conscience. (Rot. Parl. iii. 418.)

The Monk of Evesham states that Sir John Bussy accompanied Richard to Pleshy, and that the King sent Gloucester, the night of his arrest, to Tyllingbourne, thence to Dover and to Calais. (Vita R. Ricardi, ed. Hearne.)

speak to him. The Earl accordingly rode forward A. D. 1397.
with ten horsemen into the Duke's court, and asked if the Duke was at the house; and a young lady replied, 'Yes; my lord and my lady are still in bed.' Upon which the Earl said to her, 'I beg you will be so good as to go and tell my lord Duke that my lord the King is come to speak to him, for he will be here presently.' The King had brought with him a strong company of men-at-arms, and a great many archers; and thus accompanied, he rode into the court of the Duke of Gloucester's house, the trumpets sounding before him. When the Duke heard the bustle and the noise, he went down from his house into the court where the King was; and, for sure, the Duke had no other garments on him but his linen clothes, and a mantle thrown over his shoulders; and the Duchess followed her lord with all her ladies and maidens. And the Duke bent the knee before the King, and said, 'My lord, you are very welcome. How is it, my dear lord, you are come so early without warning me of your visit?' The King replied, 'Good uncle, go and dress, and then we will talk together.' While the Duke was gone up to dress, as the King desired him, the King dismounted, and chatted with the Duchess and her ladies.[1] The King's brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, and several other lords, went up after the Duke into his castle, and wait-

The King arrives at Pleshy.

[1] King Richard had recently given liberty to the Duke of Gloucester and Aleonora his wife to establish a new college of chaplains at 'Plecy,' one of whom was to be 'custos' and master. Liberty was also given to celebrate there divine service daily, by two clerks and two choristers. (Rot. Pat. 6th July, 20 Ric. II.) Dugdale states that the college consisted of nine priests, and that the Duke endowed it. (Baronage.) In the Pell Rolls is an entry, under the 6th May 1399, for the payment of the residue of 155*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* to Aleonora de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, for the maintenance of a master, twelve chaplains, and eight clerks, appointed to perform divine service in the college of Plecy (Pleshy).

A. D. 1397. ed there in the hall till he was dressed. And presently they all assembled in the lower court where the King was, who then requested the Duchess to return up to the house, for he could wait there no longer: and he said to the Duke, 'Good uncle, you must come with us;' who replied, 'My lord, I will do so very willingly;' and he immediately mounted on horseback: and when the King and all his people were outside the gates of the lower court, he said to the Earl Marshal, 'Conduct our uncle of Gloucester to our Tower of London, for there will we speak to him and nowhere else.' The Duke had a strong desire to speak to the King, but the King would by no means consent to speak to him, and never spoke to him more.[1]

The King arrests the Duke of Gloucester, towards the end of July.

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[1] The situation of Richard of England and that of Charles of France were not dissimilar. Both were nearly of the same age; both called to the throne at a very early age; and both governed by three uncles, between whose characters the parallel is sufficiently striking.

Gaillard remarks that the Regent of England (Lancaster) had the pride, the ambition, and the cupidity of the Duke of Anjou, Regent of France; the Duke of York resembled the Duke of Berry in his softness and indolence; the Duke of Gloucester, like the Duke of Burgundy, was noted for his boldness and turbulence. (Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi.)

The Duke of Gloucester openly professed that he was tired of a life of indolence, and continually reproached Richard for his want of enterprise, saying he was only fit company for bishops and ladies.

He remarked that he had once passed through France, from Calais to Bourdeaux, with only two thousand lances and eight thousand archers, and yet no one dared to oppose him; that the flower of the French nobility and gentry were either dead or made prisoners (by Bajazet, Sultan of the Turks, at Nicopolis in Bulgaria), and that he regretted the English had no longer a king to lead them on to recover 'their inheritance;' for, said he, I would find a hundred thousand archers and six thousand men-at-arms who would willingly pass the sea, and adventure their bodies and horses to follow me.

Gloucester had certainly endeavoured to promote disaffection on the part of the Londoners towards Richard. He suggested to them, that, as they were now at peace, they should petition to be relieved from the tax of thirteen per cent., (de cent florins treize,) for, said he, the money is only spent in idleness, in dances, and in feasting. (Froissart, book iv.

When the King set out from London to seize the Duke of Gloucester, he at the same time sent the A.D. 1397.

ch. 56.] The small customs were three shillings a tun on wine, and twelve pence in the pound on merchandize. (Proceedings of the Privy Council, i. 236.) Gloucester had so well succeeded by these and by other insinuations (mentioned by Hume), that the citizens were even then accustomed to speak of the King as Richard of Bourdeaux. If Froissart is to be depended upon, the Duke had succeeded in drawing away from his allegiance the young Earl of March, with whom he was to have divided the kingdom. The Count of St. Pol, upon a visit to England, heard enough of Gloucester's proceedings to induce him to warn the King against him; and it is reported that Richard communicated the information to his brother the Earl of Huntingdon, who said to him, 'My lord, your brother-in-law St. Pol has told you no more than the truth.' (Froissart, b. iv. c. 56.) On the 15th of July, a proclamation was issued, or rather was agreed upon, at Windsor, for it would scarcely have been issued long before Gloucester's arrest, which 'The London Chronicle' states took place on the 21st of July; and a second proclamation was issued from Westminster, July 28th, stating that the Duke of Gloucester was accused by the Earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerset, and Wilts, by Lord le Despencer, and Sir William le Scrop. (Rymer, viii. 6.) Sir William Rikhill received the King's writ dated Aug. 17, to go to Calais to receive Gloucester's deposition, with which he returned; and it is to be noted that the Earl Marshal accompanied him from Dover to Calais (Rot. Parl. iii. 431) on the 11th of September. The Duke had been summoned to take his trial, by deed of 17th of August; but in the meantime he had been suffocated between two mattrasses, according to the confession of John Hall, who was executed in the first year of Henry IV. for assisting at the murder; which is confirmed by the Monk of Evesham, who charges the murder upon the Duke of Norfolk. Gloucester was accused of the judicial murder of Sir Simon Burley and of Sir James Berners, and of other crimes, of which several other peers who acted in the commission with him were equally guilty, and even Nottingham, one of his accusers, but for which they had all received a general pardon. (Rot. Parl. iii. 376.) The Duke of Lancaster, as Seneschal of England, pronounced the judgment against him; and, as the Duke of York joined in the condemnation, it is manifest that they must have been convinced of his guilt in other instances than those alleged on the trial. 'Some members of the assembly (Parliament), out of respect to the rank of the Duke, gave their advice that he should not be executed as a vulgar criminal; in consequence, the King sent him to Calais, where, as it is said, he was strangled in secret.' (Chronicles of the Monk of St. Denys.)

Richard had sufficient compunction to cause prayers for the repose of the Duke's soul to be offered in all parish and other churches throughout the kingdom, inasmuch as he confessed his

A.D. 1397. Arrest of the Earl of Arundel,

Earl of Rutland and the Earl of Kent with a great many men-at-arms and archers to arrest the Earl of Arundel.[1] And when the Earl of Arundel was taken,

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treason, and was penitent before his death (Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, i. 76); but he had sworn 'upon God's body,' at his house at Langley, prior, however, to the last conspiracy, that he cheerfully forgave him the rising at Haringay and all other offences, and that no harm should come to him. (Rot. Parl. iii. 421.)

The order to the Governor of Calais to deliver the bodies of Thomas late Duke of Gloucester, and also of Aleonora his wife, to Richard Maudeleyn, clerk, is dated October 14, 1397; by him to be brought into our kingdom of England, and buried in the abbey-church of St. Peter's, Westminster. (Rymer, Fœdera.)

Gloucester was, by right of inheritance, Constable of England, but Richard took away the office from his son Humphrey, and gave it to Rutland. Richard seized upon Gloucester's lands and possessions, and placed his widow and her son at his own court. (Lingard, History of England.)

The youth is said by some chroniclers to have been drowned on his return from Ireland; by others, to have died of the plague on his return, probably after his arrival in London; as both Creton and our Chronicler state that Henry appointed him to be one of Richard's keepers. His mother, the Duchess, then sunk under the weight of her accumulated misfortune on the 3rd of October 1399, a few days after Henry's accession. Richard's conduct to this unfortunate lady was certainly not characterised by gallantry or humanity. The grandson of John of Gaunt, Gloucester's brother, known as the good Duke Humphrey (Regent of England), met also, as is generally supposed, with a violent death, which is thus alluded to by Chastelain: (Recueil de choses merveilleuses advenues de son temps:)

'Par fortune sinistre
Veis á l'œil viviment
Le grant Duc de Glocestre
Meurdrir piteusement:
En vin plain une cuve
Failloit qu' estranglé fust
Cuidant par celle estruve
Que le mort n'y parust.'

Anne, eldest daughter of the Duke of Gloucester, married Edmund Earl of Stafford. Two of her descendants, alike Dukes of Buckingham, were beheaded by Richard III. and Henry VIII. Thomas Duke of Gloucester composed, about the year 1390, 'L'ordonnance d'Angleterre pour le camp à outrance, ou gaige de bataille,' of which work there are Latin and other translations extant.

[1] According to the Rolls of Parliament, the Primate was unsuspectingly employed to bring his brother the Earl of Arundel to a private conference with Richard, upon Richard's oath, before him and Sir John Wiltshire, that no harm should be done to his person or property; notwithstanding which he was instantly apprehended. The Earl of Warwick, having dined with the King, was arrested at the house of the Chan-

he sent and arrested the Earl of Warwick, and they were all three (*lodged*) in the Tower of London. But the King sent his uncle to Calais, and there caused him to be put to death. A.D. 1397. and of the Earl of Warwick.

It was the Sunday before the day of the Holy Cross in September, when King Richard entered London, and all the other nobles of the kingdom with him; and on the morrow began the great Parliament, which the King opened by complaining of the government of those lords,[1] and that they had deprived him of the crown in his youth, and that the Queen was three hours on her knees interceding for one of her knights, named John of Burley,[2] who, notwithstanding, was beheaded; which Earl answered the Queen, 'My friend, pray for yourself and for your husband; you had much better.'[3] Meeting of Parliament at Westminster, Sept. 17th.

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cellor, near Temple Bar. (Rot. Parl. iii. 418.) He owed his life mainly to the intercession of the Earl of Salisbury, who had been his companion in arms, and who represented that never had any of the house of Beauchamp been attainted of treason. (Froissart, b. iv. c. 61.)

[1] The thirteen commissioners, all of Gloucester's faction, who with the Archbishop of York held the reins of government after the King had attained his majority. (Hume.)

[2] The party intended is evidently Sir Simon Burley, Richard's tutor during his minority. At the same time it should be stated, that mention is made of a Sir John Burley being associated with the poet Chaucer in some secret business, for which he received 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, 23rd Dec. 1376. (Issue Roll, Michs. 51 Edw. III.) I know not whether it was another party, or whether Sir Simon Burley is there misnamed. Sir Simon Burley was a K. G., Governor of Windsor Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Vice-chamberlain, Nov. 3, 1382. He was often employed in public embassies, and was the personal friend of Froissart.

[3] I am much inclined to think that the version of MS. *Y* is the correct one, and that the intercessor was the widow of the Black Prince. It is not a valid objection to urge that her husband was dead; for, as a Roman Catholic, she could still pray for him. She would be more likely to be interested in the tutor of her son than even the 'good Queen Anne.' Dr. Vaughan, in his Life of Wycliffe, (a work of extensive research,) characterises her (ii. 157) as 'a female whose intellectual character, and known solicitude for the tranquillity of the nation, seemed to authorize that interference with the disputes of the

A.D. 1397. The day following the King made his complaint of the great treason which they had commenced against him and all the lords of his council, for which treason the Earl of Arundel was condemned to be beheaded, which punishment he underwent.[1] And the morrow

The Earl of Arundel beheaded.

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period which is not unfrequent in her history.' It was owing to her interposition by Sir Lewis Clifford that no definite sentence was passed on Wycliffe by the Synod at Lambeth; and on another occasion she delegated Sir Simon Burley, with Sir Alfred Lewes, and the same Sir Lewis Clifford, to terminate a dispute between the Londoners and the Duke of Lancaster; when the Londoners answered, that 'they for the honour of the Princess would obey, and do with all reverence what she would require.' (Fox's Acts and Monuments, i. 559.) In the 8th of Richard she travelled incessantly between Pomfret Castle and London to reconcile the Duke of Lancaster and Richard, notwithstanding she was both corpulent and in years. (Sir J. Hayward.)

In Rymer, 12th June 1385, I find the appointment of four parties 'to attend upon the person of our very dear mother the Queen, wherever in our kingdom she may wish to go for her comfort and security.' I may perhaps be allowed to add, that Queen Anne possessed the Gospel written in Bohemian, German, and Latin; and Archbp. Arundel remarked that 'she studied the four Gospels constantly in English, explained by the expositions of the doctors; and in the study of these, and reading of godly books, she was more diligent than even the prelates themselves.' She appears to have imbibed the spirit of a pure Christianity from Matthias Janovius, a native of Prague, and had several attendants who participated in her religious feelings. (Fox, Acts, &c., and the History of the Bohemian Persecution, from the beginning of their conversion to Christianity in the year 894, to the year 1632, as quoted by Dr. Vaughan.)

I believe it is not generally known that a translation of the Old Testament into the French language was made as early as the year 1377, by Raoul de Presles, 'maître du requestre du Roi Charles.' It still exists. The MS. is in three volumes folio, two of them being at Paris, and one at Grenoble. (Vie des Ducs d'Orléans, par Champollion, i. 149.)

The greatest charge laid to good Queen Anne is that of Stow. 'Since the 5th of Richard II.,' says he, '(when he took to wife Anne, daughter of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia,) by her example the English people had used piked shoes to their knees, with silken laces or chains of silver and gilt.' (Survey of London, B. 206.) In the following reign the length of these pikes was restrained by statute.

[1] Dugdale remarks, the reason of the King's wrath against Arundel was, because he came too late to the Queen's funeral, and was the first that desired to return. (Baronage, i. 320.) The Earl of Arundel had a claim upon the gratitude of Richard and the nation, he having taken, in company with Mowbray Earl of Notting-

after the Earl of Arundel was put to death, the Archbishop of Canterbury was sentenced to perpetual ba- A.D. 1397. The Archbishop of Canterbury banished.

ham, more than a hundred sail of the enemy's ships, 'fraughted with wines, and well appointed for fight;' but their services were at the time acknowledged with coldness, so much was Richard under the influence of the Earl of Suffolk's party. (Life of Henry IV. by Sir J. Hayward, 1642, 12mo. p. 24.) His deportment before Parliament was too remarkable to be passed over. The Monk of Evesham supplies us with the following interesting information: — 'Fuit et eodem die constitutum, de consensu prælatorum, quod criminalia de cetero eorum requisito consensu in omni parliamento essent terminanda. Et tunc prælati, habita licentia, inde tristes recesserunt. Magnusque tunc inter plebeios de eorum recessu habebatur tumultus. Unde sagittarii de comitatu Cestrensi, numero quasi 2000, quos Rex, inter ceteros, congregaverat, (in quibus, præ ceteris regni, maxime confidebat, adeo ut sui corporis custodiam eis tradebat, de quo maxima pars regni tunc dedignabatur,) isti inquam sagittarii, circumvallantes domum parliamenti, atque putantes, fuisse in illa rixam, dissensionem vel discordiam, ad pugnam arcubus tensis sagittas ad aures trahentes, ad metum omnium ibidem existentium, sagittare cœperunt. Sed statim supervenit Rex et eos pacificavit.' (Vita R. Ricardi, p. 133.) The clergy were then enjoined under the loss of their temporalities to agree that same day, and choose a procurator. They chose accordingly Sir Henry Percy.

The Monk continues (p. 136): 'Dux Lancastriæ (qui et Seuescallus) dixit sibi: *Proditor, perdonatio illa revocata est.* Comes respondit: *Vere mentiris, numquam fui proditor.* . . . . . Tunc dixit ei Rex: *Respondeas appellationi tuæ.* Comes respondit: *Bene video, quod illi me accusaverunt de proditione, vere mentiuntur omnes, numquam fui proditor.* . . . . Tunc locutor Parliamenti Dominus Johannes Bush dixit illi: *Illa proditio jam revocata est per Regem, Dominos, et nos fideles plebeios.* Comes respondit: *Ubi sunt illi plebes fideles? Bene novi te et comitivam tuam, qualiter congregati estis, non ad fidelitatem faciendam, sed sanguinem meum fundendum. Et fideles plebeii regni non sunt hîc. Quod si hîc fuissent, forsitan ipsi pro me decertarent ut non traderer in manus vestras,*' &c. The Earl was condemned to be drawn, hung, and quartered. The King, on consideration of his high birth, remitted this part of the sentence, and commanded Lord Morley, lieutenant of the Marshal of England, to cause him to be beheaded; which sentence was executed the same day (Rot. Parl. iii. 377), a great crowd following him, and, as much as they dared, lamenting him. Froissart's account, and that of Fabyan who follows him, do not agree with the Rolls of Parliament. The Monk of St. Denys remarks that the Earl of Arundel, who excelled the other knights of England in renown and wealth, disdained to have recourse to such means (the prayers of the Earl of Warwick for pardon). In the midst of his torments he insulted the King and his court, calling them traitors, nor would he reveal where he had concealed his treasures.

A. D. 1397. Sir Thomas Mortemer banished.

nishment,[1] and Sir Thomas of Mortemer was banished also. The Earl of Warwick appeared before the

(B. xviii. ch. v.) Sir Thomas Mortemer was ordered to surrender himself within three months, under pain of the forfeiture of his estate, and of being held a traitor. (Rot. Parl. iii. 381.) On the 24th Sept. 1397, an order was sent to Roger Mortemer, Earl of March, Lieutenant of Ireland, to send him over to appear before the Parliament. (Fœdera.) He was accused by the same eight lords who accused Gloucester; but he fled to one of the Irish septs, and was outlawed. Sir John Cobham was tried for the same conspiracy at Salop, Jan. 28th, and sentenced also to death; but the King commuted the sentence to banishment in the Isle of Jersey. (Rot. Parl. iii. 381.) Sir John Cheyne was also arrested with Sir John Cobham. (P. de Ickham.) The gallant Earl of Arundel was celebrated, even on the Continent, for his skill in horsemanship; and, as he figures along with Richard in the following ballad of the Marquis de Saluces, which contains a description of a horse-race in England at the close of the fourteenth century, one of the most ancient, I believe, on record, I venture to give it.

. . . . . 'Un jour li Roy une feste faisoit
De son filz qui chevalier faire vouloit,
Là, faisoit courer les destriers,
Et si y avoit joiaulz chiers,
Qui devoient estre cellui
Qui avoit meilleur cheval o lui,
Et qui mieulx seroit courant
Et aux joiaulz plus tost venant.
Là furent assemblez
Tous les destriers de mains contriez.
Le filz le Roy y fu mesmement,
Qui bien cuidoit estre gangnant
Car cuidoit avoir meilleur destrier
Que on peut nulle part trouver:
Mais au derrein ce fu pour néant,
Que Bovez fut trestous passant
Par la force de son destrier,
Qui en mains lieux lui fu mestier,
Ce fu Arondel le courant:
N'est meilleur ou firmament.'
(Le Livre du Chevalier errant, MS. Bibl. du Roi.)

[1] According to the account of the Rolls of Parliament (dictated by Henry's Chancellor), Richard's conduct to the Archbishop was characterised by his usual treachery. He prevented him making his defence by promises of pardon, and after his sentence promised to recal him the next Easter; which promise he confirmed by oath on the cross of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The Archbishop remarked to the Duke of Norfolk and other lords who were present, that he was not the first Primate that had been banished,

Parliament, and confessed and revealed all the treason in open Parliament, and begged for mercy from the King. He revealed the whole truth to the King, and said that they could not make him suffer too cruel a death, for he had well deserved it; but he implored mercy of the King and council. Then the King had pity on him and gave him his life; but he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in an island which belonged to Sir William le Scrop, Earl of the Isle of Man and Treasurer of England, who was appointed to guard him, and was allowed for his expense and for the ward, four thousand nobles.[1] The morrow when the Parliament was over,[2] King Richard order- A. D. 1397.

The Earl of Warwick imprisoned in the Isle of Man.

and that he suspected the Duke of Norfolk and other lords would follow him before long. (Rot. Parl. iii. 421.) Richard's remonstrance with the Pope for his 'countenance of the Archbishop's treason' was manly, and produced the intended effect. His letter, and the divided state of the Papacy at that time, are well commented on by Mr. Webb. (Archæol. xx. 49.) Richard seized the Archbishop's property 16 Oct. 1397. (Pell Rolls.) It was restored by Henry on his accession. (Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 8.)

[1] Sir Stephen le Scrop, his brother, was joined with him, according to Dugdale, in the precept for the custody of the Earl of Warwick.

Sir William le Scrop, 'Dominus de Man,' ranks as one of the allies of Richard in the treaty of peace with France, signed at Paris, 1395. (Chroniques du Moine de St. Denys, B. xvi. ch. xvi. p. 365.)

[2] The Rolls of Parliament and the Statutes agree with our Chronicler as to the day when the Parliament assembled, viz. the Monday next after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. (17 Sept. 1397.) It sat twelve days, and was then adjourned to Shrewsbury, to meet upon the quinzeine of Hilary then next ensuing (27 Jan. 1398). This was then an unusual circumstance, but Richard was probably anxious to continue it, and to remove it for other ends than the trial of the two lords, which Hume gives as the ostensible reason.

The Parliament had been so compliant to the wishes of the King and his favourites, that they were, no doubt, desirous to obtain further advantages; and Richard does not appear to have been without fears for his personal safety, for the great lords had come to the Parliament with an unusually large body of armed followers. Caxton states, that 'Syr Henry of Derby, the Erle of Kent, the Erle Marshal, the Erle of Northumberlonde, and Syr Henry Percy his sone, (and Syre Thomas Percy his elder brother,) the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and Syr William Scrop, came with such a power of men-

A. D. 1397. ed the men of London to arm, for that he wished to see their power, and the state of the city; and accord-

at-arms and archers that every strete and lane in London and in the suburbes were full of them lodged, and ten or twelve mylle about London on every waye.' Fearing what might be attempted against him by the friends of the noblemen in durance, and recollecting, probably, the rising at Harringay, Richard surrounded himself with a guard of two thousand Cheshire men, (Holinshed, 488, original edition no date,) whom Froissart states he paid weekly, but of whose lawless and freebooting propensities the contemporary rhymers make strong complaint; and it was to please the men of Cheshire, who were his most staunch supporters, and to avoid and annoy the Londoners, that he removed the Parliament to Shrewsbury. Dr. Lingard mentions another probable reason—that he might secure the attendance and concurrence of the Earl of March, Viceroy of Ireland, who had been absent from the first session, and who was peremptorily summoned to Shrewsbury, where he attended.

Before separating from Shrewsbury, the Parliament gave full power to a commission of twelve peers and six commoners, (two of the peers appearing as procurators for the clergy,) to hear, examine, and determine all matters and subjects which had been moved in the presence of the King.

It is worthy of remark that the people present at this Parliament signified their assent by lifting up their right hands. (Rot. Parl. iii. 360 and 373.)

From Shrewsbury, Richard proceeded to Bristol, and, with the assent of his Committee of Parliament, determined causes, and published laws, in the same form as if the two houses were sitting.

In the alliterative poem, published by the Camden Society, there is a graphic account of the elections, and of the behaviour of this Parliament. The knights of the shires speak as follows:

'We beth servauntis and sallere ffongen,
And ysente ffro the shiris to shewe what hem greveth,
And to parle ffor her prophete, and pass no fferthere,
And to graunt of her gold to the grett wattis
By no manere wronge way, but if werre were;
And if we ben ffals to tho us here ffyndyth,
Evyll be we worthy to welden our hire.'

Fabyan complains that the King would not be controuled in the election of sheriffs, and that 'where before times the kings of England used to send commissioners unto burgesses of cities and towns, to choose for their free liberty such knights of the shire as they thought most useful for the common weal of the said shire and land; now King Richard would appoint the persons, and will them for to choose such as then he named, whereby his singular cause was preferred, and the common cause put by.' (Fabyan, anno 1397.) At the dissolution of the Parliament, the King commanded the knights, citizens, and burgesses to present briefs

ingly the citizens mustered, and the King, accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster and two horsemen, went to review them. A. D. 1397. The King reviews the citizens.

On the morrow King Richard held an open court, and created on that day four dukes and four earls. It should be known that the Earl of Derby was created Duke of Hereford;[1] the Earl of Rutland was created Duke of Albemarle;[2] the Earl of Kent was created Duke of Surrey; and the King's brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, was created Duke of Exeter. Sir William Scrop was created Earl of the Isle of Man; the Lord Despencer was created Earl of Gloucester; and the son of the late Earl of Stafford was created Earl of Stafford; and Sir Thomas de Percy Creation of peers.

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for their wages, and gave them leave to depart. (Rot. Parl. iii. 369.) The Parliament sat, in the two sessions, twenty-five days. The knights received eight shillings each, and the burgesses four shillings each, for every day they were present: only ten burgesses are entered as being present, viz. those for the cities of Canterbury, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Oxford, and Warwick. (Prynne's Parl. Writs, iv. 443.) At the request of the commons, Richard caused the prelates to assemble the following Sunday at Westminster Abbey, and there, after mass heard, to swear over the ashes of St. Edward, never to revoke or annul the statutes they had made. (Rot. Parl. iii. 355.) 'And he sente to Rome to haue the statutes and ordinaunces, mad in the parlement begonnen at Westm' and ended at Schrovesbury, confermed of the Pope, the whiche was donn and graunted be the Pope and be hym confermed; which confirmacion was proclamed at the crosse in Powles and at Seynt Marie Spitele in Estre woke before alle the peple.' (Chronicle of London.)

[1] In the French original the word is Harford. In the old copies of Shakspere the title is invariably spelt and pronounced Herford. In Hardynge's Chronicle it is always written Herford or Harford; and in Daniel's 'Civile Warres,' and 'Edward Halle's Chronicles,' it is constantly Herford.

[2] Edward Plantagenet, eldest son of Edmund Duke of York, by Isabella of Castile. The ancient title of the French Dukes of Aumale was Holdernesse. They took the modern name from the town of Aumale (Alba-marla, or Aumalcum), situated on the Brêle in Upper Normandy, on the confines of Picardy. (Art de vérifier les dates.) The Duke of Rutland was also Earl of Cork, and Admiral of the Fleet from 1392 to 1398. He was appointed 29th Nov. 15 Ric. II. (Rot. Franc.)

A. D. 1397. was also created an Earl.[1] And the King held a great court and gave a sumptuous feast, and at supper the heralds received large gifts from the lords and ladies, and cried 'Largesse;' and my Lady of Exeter received the prize as the best dancer.[2]

Adjourned meeting of Parliament at Shrewsbury, 27th Jan. 1398.

Shortly afterwards the King went to Shrewsbury, and another Parliament was summoned there to punish *(the pride*[3] *of)* the Londoners; and, if the Duke of Hereford and the Duke of Norfolk had gone there, they would never have returned, for their heads would have been taken off. And as the King was

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[1] The Monk of St. Denys remarks, that the King, having the intention of crossing over in a short time to Ireland, in order that he might strengthen in their devotedness and fidelity the principal knights of the kingdom, held a state court at Windsor, where he invested several nobles with the titles of dukes and counts. (Chronicles, b. xix. c. 11.) Our Chronicler's list of the creations is incomplete (and that of Rapin is decidedly incorrect). In addition to the above-named four dukes, Sir Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Notyngham, was created Duke of Norfolk; Marguerite, Countess of Norfolk, the King's cousin, was created Duchess of Norfolk; Sir John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, was created Marquis of Dorset; and Ralph, Lord Neville, was created Earl of Westmoreland. Can this last Earl be the person intended by our author, when he speaks of the son of the late Earl of Stafford? Creton made a similar error; see Archæologia, xx. 385. The young Earl of Stafford was knighted by Henry IV. (Archæologia, xx. 275.) The titles of Sir Thomas de Percy and Sir William le Scrop were Earls of Worcester and Wiltshire. It is remarkable that our author never afterwards calls Sir William le Scrop by his proper title, which was evidently unknown to him, but by his original title of knight; (*vide* Preface, Notes on Sir William le Scrop.) These creations were on the last day of the Parliament at Westminster, before its adjournment. (Rot. Parl. iii. 355.) Peter de Ickham, although he states that the King created five dukes, one marquis, and five earls, adds that Lord *Nevyle Derby* was created Earl of Westmoreland. (MS. Harleian, 4323.) On Saturday, September 29, when Richard had made the dukes, he added the arms of Saint Edward to his own, and no one durst say him no. (Fabyan.) A contemporary drawing of these arms is preserved in the Archæological Journal, March 1846, p. 79.

Shortly afterwards Richard gave Henry a royal gift of forty marks by the year. (Pell of Issue Rolls, Easter, 22 Ric. II. Ap. 15.)

[2] MS. No. 7224 adds, 'and the best singer.'

[3] l'insolence des habitans de Londres. (Chron. du M. de St. Denys.)

setting out on horseback to go to Shrewsbury,[1] the Duke of Hereford came and presented a petition to the King, in which he impeached the Duke of Norfolk of treason, and challenged him to battle as a false and disloyal traitor to the realm of England. When the King had received the petition, he caused it to be read in the presence of the two lords, and then the Duke of Norfolk replied, that in all the Duke of Hereford wished to insinuate against him, he lied, false knight as he was. The King said to the Duke of Hereford, 'Cousin Henry of Lancaster, the petition which I received from you has been here read, what say you before all present?'[2] Upon which the

A. D. 1398.

Henry of Lancaster accuses the Duke of Norfolk.

[1] The Duke of Hereford first made his complaint to the King against the Duke of Norfolk at Haywode, and, at Richard's request, committed his accusation to writing. (Rot. Parl. iii. 382.) There seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of the narrative in the text, as it is very probable that Henry would give a copy of the conversation to the King before he formally presented it to the Parliament; which he did on Wednesday the 30th of January, the third day of the session at Shrewsbury. Dr. Lingard has given, in his History of England, a translation from the Rolls of Parliament of the conversation which Henry stated to have passed between him and the Duke of Norfolk.

[2] The exact correspondence with our History, excepting in the date, and the judicious tone of remark shown in the following extract, warrant, I think, its insertion:

'But the Parliament was agitated by a quarrel which broke out between the knights. The said Duke Henry accused of treason the Earl Marshal, and openly reproached him with having wickedly put to death his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and with having retained for his own use, at different times, the money sent for the soldiers of the garrison of Calais; with having conspired against the King, and mixed himself up with all the plots which had been laid in the kingdom the last eighteen years. The King was greatly astonished, as might be expected, to hear the knight to whom he was most attached accused of such treason. The Earl Marshal, urged to declare the truth, denied the crime, and retorted the treason upon his accuser. The two rivals then broke out into insulting language, and gave each other the lie. At length they drew up a challenge, and mutually demanded immediate permission to fight in single combat. The King did not readily grant what they sought. He endeavoured to reconcile them by the intervention of others, and promised to forget the faults of both parties; but, seeing that they rejected all mediation, and per-

A. D. 1398. Duke of Hereford removed his bonnet, which was black, from his head, and said, 'My lord, as the petition which I have given you makes mention, so say I for troth, that Thomas of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, such as he is, is a traitor, false and recreant towards you and your royal majesty, to your crown, to the nobles, and to all the people of your realm.' Then the King asked the Duke of Norfolk, 'What have you to say, Thomas?' The Duke replied, 'My dear sire, by your leave in answer to your cousin, saving your grace, I say that Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, has lied in that he has said and wished to insinuate against me, like a false traitor and disloyal subject as he is.' 'Ho!' said the King, 'we have heard enough of that;' and he then commanded the Duke of Surrey, who was then Marshal of England,[1] to arrest the two lords. It is true that the Duke of Lancaster, father of the said Duke of Hereford, the Duke of York, the Duke of Albemarle, Constable, and the Duke of Surrey, Marshal, these four princes were bail, body for body, for the Duke of Hereford; and it was thought that the Duke of Norfolk was not able to find bail,[2] but was taken in arrest

The Duke of Hereford bailed.

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sisted in their design, and not knowing to which of the two to give credit, he appointed a day for the combat, which was to take place at Coventry, in the month of January. (Chronicles of the Monk of St. Denys, b. xix. c. 11.)

[1] On Thursday the 31st of January the Duke of Surrey was appointed Marshal of England, and the Marquis of Dorset Admiral of the Fleet. (Rot. Parl. iii. 368.)

[2] That Henry of Lancaster was admitted to bail appears almost certain, and indeed the fact is confirmed by Froissart. (B. iv. c. 63.) The Duke of Norfolk, as has been before remarked, did not attend the Parliament at Shrewsbury. On the 4th of February the King issued his writs to all the Sheriffs of England, ordering them to make proclamation that Thomas Duke of Norfolk should appear before him in his own person within fifteen days after proclamation made. (Fœdera.) The matters contained in Henry's bill of accusation had been originally referred to the determination of the twenty commissioners to whom the full

to Windsor, and a guard was appointed over him until the day that was appointed for the combat, and there he had master armourers, as many as he pleased, to make his armour.[1]

A. D. 1398. The Duke of Norfolk committed to Windsor Castle.

powers of Parliament had been unconstitutionally delegated; but on the 19th of March the King, being at Bristol, decided, with the consent of the said commissioners, that the aforesaid matters belonged to the Court of Chivalry. Norfolk answered his summons, and the two parties appeared before the King at Oswestry on the 23rd of February, when the 28th of April was fixed upon for the hearing of their cause before a High Court of Chivalry, afterwards adjourned to the morrow, Monday, 29th April. (Rot. Parl. iii. 383.) The writ to the Constable of Windsor to receive them is dated from Oxford, the 26th of February. But Norfolk at least was not long there; for on the 23rd of April the King issues a writ to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, 'that for the safe and secure custody of Thomas Duke of Norfolk within our Wardrobe within the aforesaid city, you shall ordain a strict watch, as well by land as by water, that the said Duke shall by no means escape, or go out without our special permission.' (Rymer, Fœdera.) The King's Great Wardrobe was situated close by the church of St. Andrew's Wardrobe, in Addle Hill, Carter Lane. (Stow, B. p. 230.) It was formerly the residence of the Princess Mother. Froissart, with his usual carelessness, states that the Duke was sent to the Tower. (B. iv. c. 63.) The ordonnance in France was 'quilz soient arrestez s'ilz ne donnent pas bons et souffisans pleges de non departir sans notre congié.' (Cérémonies des Gages de bataille.)

[1] In cases of appeal of battle, the meanest subject was supplied with armour from the King's armoury. A painter was also appointed at the King's expense, one for the appellant, and another for the defendant. (Minutes of Council, vi. 139.) A painter was always employed to arrange the armour for a tournament, and to decorate it with the bearings and the colours of the knights, as appears from the following entries of expenses made for the Duke of Touraine (Louis d'Orléans) by his valet de chambre. A tournament was in preparation at Epernay, and the Duke of Touraine paid for himself and his people, what was due 'a un peintre qui avoit fait les harnois de jouste,' as well as the other expenses occasioned by the preparations for this fête, which amounted to one hundred and eight francs, sixteen sous, and ten deniers tournois. Again, 24th April 1398, 'Colart de Laon, painter, acknowledges to have received thirty-two francs on account of the armour of the tournament, which was delivered to the esquires of my Lord of Orleans, when they jousted together at St. Pol (the name of the Duke's house at Paris), that is to say, for having cleaned two or three times, and for having repaired the said armour, because the said esquires made their essay several times; and moreover, for having made a houpelande, or 'demi-corps,' for

A. D. 1398. The parties appear before a High Court of Chivalry at Windsor, Monday, 29th April.

Item, when King Richard had returned from the Parliament of Shrewsbury, in the year 1398, in the month of January, a day was appointed, within forty days,[1] to hear at Windsor the two lords who had accused each other of treason. (*On the appointed day*) King Richard was seated on a platform which had

each of the said esquires, and for having new-faced the shields, and upon the facing having made a wolf in lackered gilt and silver 'trais et muez.' Amongst the pieces of armour enumerated are, 'selle, pimère, chanfrin, et écu doré de fin or, semé de porc-épics de peintre,' &c. The Duke of Orleans' armour was ornamented with his six colours, red, white, grey, blue, green, and black, and the order of the Porcupine was instituted by him. I find a painter acting occasionally as an 'Uissier,' and going on an embassy to announce the birth of a child to his lord. (Vie des Ducs Louis et Charles d'Orléans, par M. Champollion, i. 56, and iii. 11.)

[1] In a MS. of the Gruythuse Collection, undoubtedly of the close of the fourteenth century, No. 6049, Latin MSS., Bibl. du Roi, Article 4, entitled 'Modus faciendi duellum coram rege,' drawn up, I suspect, by the Duke of Gloucester, I find the following regulations. After stating that amongst Princes their quarrels and disputes (billes) are pleaded in the court before the Constable and Mareschal; and when they cannot prove by witness, nor in any other manner determine the cause, nor their quarrels, the Constable has power to join this battle as Vicar-General under God and the King; it continues, He shall assign them day and place, provided that the day be not more than forty days after that the said battle is so agreed upon, unless by the consent of the said appellant and defendant.

To the Court of Chivalry belonged cognizance of all contracts of feats of arms and of war out of the kingdom, and also all things concerning arms or war within the kingdom, which could not be tried by the common law or other usages and customs to such matters appertaining, which other Constables in times past had duly and reasonably used in their time. Each plaintiff was to declare plainly his matter in his petition; and if any one wished to plead that any cause which had commenced before the Constable and Marshal, could be tried by the common law of the land, he was to have writ of privy seal to the Constable and Marshal to stop proceedings, until it had been ascertained by the King and Council if the matter appertained to his court, or whether it could be tried by the common law. (Rot. Parl. iii. 265.) This unconstitutional Court dated from the time of the Conquest, but has been discontinued since the beheading of Edward Duke of Buckingham, anno 12 Hen. VIII. (Nicholson's Historical Libraries, 181.) Henry the Eighth deserves praise for its suppression, for it is evident that it might be made an instrument of oppression, and the succeeding part of this history proves that it became such under Henry the Fourth.

been erected in the square of the castle, and all the lords and prelates of his kingdom with him; and there they caused to appear the Duke of Hereford, Earl Derby, appellant; and then the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, defendant. Then Sir John Bussy [1] opened the proceedings on the part of the King, saying 'My lords, you know full well that the Duke of Hereford has presented a petition to our sire the King, who is here present in his seat of justice to administer right to those who shall require it this day, as it becomes him and his royal office.' And three days before was it proclaimed on behalf of the King, that none of the parties, on the one side or the other, should be so daring as to carry arms, on pain of being drawn and hung. And the King caused the parties to be asked if they would not agree and make peace together, saying it would be much better. Accordingly the Constable and the Marshal went, by the King's desire, and besought them to make up the

A. D. 1398. 29th April.

The King endeavours to reconcile them.

[1] Sir John Bussy, Speaker of the House of Commons. From the following entry, I suspect his name was pronounced Bushey, as the village so called, formerly his property, now is.

'Calendarium Inquis. post mortem, anno 22 Ric. II.

'Johannes Busshey Watford } terr' ten' et Busshey parva } redd'Hertford.'

There appears to be an allusion to Sir John in the following stanzas of the contemporary alliterative poem, before quoted. Speaking of the number of persons who bore Richard's cognizance, the hart, the author remarks:

'They bare them the bolder for their gay brooches,
And *bushed* with their breasts, and bare down the poor
Lieges that loved you (the King) less for their evil deeds.'

Sir J. Hayward calls him Sir John Bush, and in another place, where he apparently copies this Chronicle, he calls him 'Sir John Borey, Secy. of State.' (Life of Henry IV., edition of 1612, 12°.)

If the appellant could not prove the truth of his cause by witnesses or otherwise, he was to prove it 'par son corps contre le sien ou par son advoué, en champ clos comme gentilhomme et preudomme doit faire.' (Ceremonies des Gages de Bataille d'apres le MS. de la Bibl. du Roi: Crapelet; Paris.)

A. D. 1398. 29th April.

matter and be reconciled, and that then the King would pardon all that they had said or done against him or his kingdom. But they both answered that never should peace be made between them. And when the King was told this, he commanded that they should be brought before him that he might hear what they had to say. Then a herald cried on the part of the King that the Duke of Hereford and the Duke of Norfolk should come forward before the King, to tell, each his reason, why they would not make peace together. And when they were come before the King and his council, the King said to them himself, 'My lords, make matters up; it will be much better.' 'Saving your favour, my dear sovereign,' said the Duke of Norfolk, 'it cannot be, my honour is too deeply concerned.' Then the King said to the Duke of Hereford, 'Henry, say what it is you have to say to the Duke of Norfolk or, why you will not be reconciled.' The Duke of Hereford had a knight, who, having asked and obtained permission from the King and the council to speak on behalf of the Duke, said, 'Dear and sovereign lord, here is Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford and Earl Derby, who declares, and I also for him, that Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, has received from you eight hundred thousand nobles[1] to pay your men-at-arms who

The King again endeavours to reconcile the Dukes, but without success.

The accusation against the Duke of Norfolk.

[1] There is considerable discrepancy amongst the MSS. as to the amount with which Norfolk was charged of misappropriating: one MS. states one thousand nobles a year for the twenty years he had been Governor of Calais; and another, eight thousand nobles in all, with *mil* subsequently added. Fabyan states the sum at four thousand marks, probably four thousand marks per annum. We may be guided in our judgment by the fact that Lord William le Scrop had one thousand pounds per annum for the guard of the city and castle of Brest for three years. (Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council, i. 13.)

In the fourth of Richard II. great complaint was made because the wages of the soldiers of Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg were a quarter and a half in arrear. (Rot. Parl. iii. 88.)

guard your city of Calais, whom he has not paid as he ought to have done; I say this is great treason, and calculated to cause the loss of your city of Calais: and I also say that he has been at the bottom of all the treasons committed in your kingdom these last eighteen years, and has, by his false counsel and malice, caused to be put to death my dear and beloved uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, son of King Edward, whom God absolve, and who was brother of my dearly beloved father the Duke of Lancaster. The Duke of Hereford says, and I on his part, that he will prove the truth of this by his body between any sunrise and sunset.'[1] A.D. 1398. 29th April.

Then the King was wroth, and asked the Duke of Hereford if he acknowledged these as his words. To which he replied, 'My dear lord, I do; and I also demand of you the right of wager of battle against him.' Then the Duke of Norfolk's knight, who was very aged, demanded leave to speak; and when he had obtained leave, he began thus: 'Most dread sovereign, behold here Thomas of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who answers, and I for him, that with respect to all which Henry of Lancaster has said and shown, such as it is, Thomas of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, says, and I on his part, saving the reverence of yourself and your council, that it is all falsehood, and that he has lied falsely and wickedly like a false and disloyal knight; and that he has been more false and disloyal towards you, your crown, your royal majesty, and The Duke of Norfolk's defence.

[1] The words of the Chronicle are 'entre deux soleils.' Amongst the ordinances of MS. 6049, (Latin,) Bibl. du Roi, before alluded to, is the following:

The two parties are to give sufficient surety that each of them will come on his said day, the appellant to make his proof on the defendant, and vice versâ; and in order to that shall be given time and daylight, 'heure et time et solail,' to make his proof; and to be afterwards at the lists to redeem his bail, and that they do not molest nor do any damage one to the other in the mean while.

A. D. 1398. 29th April. The Duke of Norfolk's defence.

your kingdom, than he ever was, in intention or in deed. This will I prove, and defend myself as a loyal knight ought to do in encounter against him. I beseech you, and the council of your Majesty, that it may please you, in your kingly discretion, to consider and bear in mind what Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, such as he is, has said.' Then the King asked the Duke of Norfolk if that was his speech, and if he wished to say anything more. The Duke of Norfolk, in person, answered the King: 'My dear lord, it is true I have received so much gold from you to pay your people of your good city of Calais, which I have done. I say that the city of Calais is as well guarded and as much at your command now as it ever was, and also that no person of Calais has lodged any complaint to you against me. My dear and sovereign lord, for the journeys that I have performed in France on account of your noble marriage, and for the journey that the Duke of Albemarle and I took in Germany, where we expended much treasure, I never received from you either gold or silver. It is true, and I acknowledge, that I once laid an ambush to kill my lord of Lancaster, who is there seated; and it is true that my lord forgave me, and peace was made between us, for which I thank him. This is what I wish to say and to reply, and to support it I will defend myself against him. I beseech you to grant me justice, and trial of battle in tournament.' The two parties were then withdrawn, and the King consulted with his council. Afterwards the two lords were summoned to hear the decision. Again the King desired them to be asked if they would be reconciled, or not. They both replied they would not; and the Duke of Hereford threw down his pledge, which the Duke of Norfolk received. Then swore the King by Saint John the Baptist that he would never more en-

deavour to reconcile those two; and Sir John Bussy, on the part of the King and council, announced that they should have trial of battle at Coventry, on a Monday in the month of August, and that there they should have their day and their lists.[1] A. D. 1398.

Item. The Sunday next before the Monday appointed for the combat, arrived the lords who were about to fight in the city of Coventry. The same day, after dinner, went the Duke of Hereford, Earl Derby, to take leave of King Richard at a tower where he was lodging, which belonged to Sir William Bagot, and which was about a quarter of a league out of the city: and the following Monday, at break of day, went the Duke of Norfolk to take leave of the King, and thence went to the Carthusians[2] to hear three masses, and afterwards rode to his tent, close to the lists, to have his armour put on; which was done by his esquire, Jacques Felm of Bohemia. The combat at Coventry. Monday, 16th Sept.

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[1] Pur y avoir lour jour, lour lieu et lour pointes. (Rot. Parl. iii. 383.)—The Duke of Norfolk is said to have depended upon the protection of the King, who had been much attached to him. He had, eighteen months before, given him a pension of one hundred marks a year, then a very considerable gift. (Rot. Pat. 11 Sep. 20 Ric. II.) But those who were about the King urged upon him the necessity of impartiality. 'Sire,' said they, 'dissimulate, and let them settle the matter amongst themselves. The Earl of Derby is wonderfully beloved in this country, and especially by the Londoners. If the Londoners see that you take part with the Earl Marshal against the Earl Derby, you will not be in their good graces, but the contrary.' The Earl of Huntingdon, the Archbishop of York, and the Earl of Salisbury represented that serious evil might arise if he allowed the combat to take place, and advised the King to order the Marshal to banish within fifteen days, Norfolk for life, and Henry for six years. (Froissart, B. iv. c. 63.)

[2] The Carthusian monastery of St. Anne's, near Coventry, which Richard endowed and favoured, and of which he had laid the first stone on his return from Scotland in 1385. The monks were to support twelve poor scholars from the ages of seven to seventeen, to pray for the good estate of him and his consort during life, and afterwards for the health of their souls, also for the souls of Queen Anne, his father and mother, and all the faithful departed. (Monasticon Angl. vi. 15.)

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. The combat.

And the Duke of Hereford was armed in a beautiful house within the gate of the barrier of the city,[1] which (house) had a handsome wooden pavilion near its gate, so placed that none could see within.

Costume of the Marshal's men.

The Duke of Aumarle, Constable, and the Duke of Surrey, Marshal, with their twenty followers, were all well armed, and wore a livery of short doublets of red Kendal[2] cloth full of belts, in the fashion of a silver girdle, upon each of which was written at length "Honniz soit celluy qui mal pense."

Arrival of many distinguished foreigners.

At eight o'clock, the Constable, the Marshal, and all the foreigners who had come from over sea, entered within the lists, as well as a Scotch knight, who was called Walter Stuart.[3]

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[1] The sense of the original is not very evident. I am not sure whether it may not be that the house was situated between the gate and the outer barrier; or between the gate and the barrier of the lists.

[2] The Commons of England petitioned Henry that no Kersey cloth, Kendale cloth, frise of Coventry, Coggeware, nor Welch cloth should be sealed with any seal, small or large, nor pay any coket or other custom. These were inferior cloths suited to the poorer people, and the request was granted, 2 Hen. IV. (Rot. Parl. iii. 437.)

Chastelain's MS. reads 'a livery of short robes (*profusely*) covered with the Garter,' which is evidently what is intended by our author. Hall states that the men of the Constable and Marshal were apparelled in silk and Kendal, embroidered with silver both richly and curiously, and had each a tipped staff in his hand to keep the field in order.

At a joust held in the city of Lisle in the year 1453, the Duke of Burgundy's knights were clothed in grey and black damask, his esquires in satin, and his varlets in woollen cloth, all of the same colours. (Mathieu de Coucy, published with the Hist. de Chas. VII. Godefrey, Paris, fo. 1661, p. 667.) The nobles themselves went to an immense expense for their 'houpelandes,' or surcoats. The Duke of Orleans' embroiderer charged him two hundred and seventy-six francs five sous tournois for the gold and silk only of a houpeland of black satin, with wolves displayed thereon, embroidered with gold and his six colours; on the left sleeve was a large arbaleste embroidered in gold and pearls. (Champollion, Vie des Ducs d'Orléans.) Richard, who was a great fop, introduced the custom of embroidering the cognizance on the bodice. (Dallaway.)

[3] The eldest son of the Duke of Albany. One of his letters to Charles II., dated 20th October

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. Arrival of the Duke of Hereford.

At nine o'clock arrived the Duke of Hereford, appellant, in very noble array, with his followers, upon six noble chargers, well armed and covered, and wearing his cognizance.[1] And when he presented himself at the barrier of the lists, the Constable and the Marshal went forth to meet him, and asked him who he was, what he wanted, and for what purpose

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1423, is still extant, sealed with his own seal; the crest, a peacock displayed. He styles himself 'Galterus *Stwart* primogenitus et heres excellentissimi principis domini ñri ducis Albanie,' and promises to observe and keep the treaties of alliance between the kingdoms of France and Scotland. (Tresor des Chartres, J. 677, art. 20.)

[1] 'About y^e^ time of prime (Su l'hora prima, a il di festo dAprile —Petrarch) came to the barriers of the lists y^e^ Duke of Herford, mounted on a white courser, barbed with blew and grene velvet, embrowded sumpteously with swannes and antlopes of goldsmithe's worke, armed at all poyntes.' (Hall.) Each of the Dukes went to a prodigious expense to outshine the other. The Duke of Hereford had obtained his plate and mail from Galeazzo Duke of Milan, who sent him the Chevalier François and four of the best armourers in Lombardy. (Froissart.) Some curious particulars of the rich collars and party colours worn by the nobles at a magnificent entertainment given by the Duke of Burgundy in 1453, will be found in Mathieu de Coucy's Chronic. page 666. We may gather the value of armour at the beginning of the fifteenth century from the following document. In 1411, Louis Duke of Orleans orders his treasurer-general to repay to one of his esquires the following sums for articles he had delivered in September last. To Messire Thuom de Romestein, knight of Bohemia, who came in haste to aid us at the day we thought of having to encounter our enemy of Burgundy, 'ung coursier rouen (roan) du pris de vj^xx^xv livres tournois, ung bacinet a baniere xx ls. t. une paire davant bras lxvij sous vj deniers tournois, deux gardes bras lx sous tournois une piece Dalmaigne lx sous tournois, et une paire de ganteles xlv sous tournois. Ung haubergeon d'acier, pour Guille le Bouteill'r du pris de xl livres x sols tournois.' (MS. 5684, Bibl. Leber. Rouen.) The livre tournois was then worth about one-twelfth less than the livre parisis.

Louis Duke of Orleans, about 1396, ordered his armourer to deliver to his 'Escuier d'Escuerie' the following armour: 'Deux paires de harnoiz de jambes, cest assavoir, greues, cuisses, avambras, gardebras, j bacinet, et iv fers fourbis et nétoiés; j haume, iij paires de harnoiz pour les joustes, vij rochez et vj rondeles; ij petites espées de Bordeaux et j de Brehaigne; ij heaumes et iij mains dacier pour la jouste, iij avambras et iij gardebras et ij gaigne pain; iij paires

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. The combat.

he was come thither? To whom he answered, 'I am Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, and am come here to prosecute my appeal in combating Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who is a traitor, false and recreant to God, the King, his realm, and me.'[1]

The Duke of Hereford is sworn.

Then the Constable and the Marshal administered to him the oath,[2] and asked him if he would enter the lists on this point. He replied, he would; and placed forward his shield, which was argent, with a cross

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de ganteletz et un sollier d'acier,' &c. (Champollion, Vie des Ducs d'Orleans, i. 119.)

[1] There was a set form appointed for the appellant to use in the early part of the fourteenth century. 'Comme faulx, traytre et foy mentie que tu es.' (Ceremonies des Gages de Bataille.)

[2] From the Modus faciendi duellum, in the Latin MS. No. 6049, Bibl. du Roi, we gather the following particulars of the mode of conducting a duel in the Marshal's Court. They were drawn up, I believe, by the Duke of Gloucester.—The lists were to be sixty paces long and forty wide; the barriers seven feet high. The serjeants-at-arms were not to let the people approach within four feet of the lists. The Constable was to open the visor of the bacinet of the appellant and defendant, to see if they were the very men; and he was to cut the lances of an equal length, 'de ouele mesure.' He was to have in attendance a priest, with a cross, a crucifix, and an open missal, with the holy Gospels written therein. The priest was to chant the canon of the mass over the crucifix and the book. That done, the appellant was to swear that his bill was true from beginning to end, and that he would maintain it, God helping him. The following is the appointed form, evidently of a remote date: 'Thow A of B, yis yi bille ys sothe in all pointz & articles fro yo begynnyng continuet y^{t} in to yo ende, & y^{t} es yur entent to proue yis day on yo forseyd C of D, so God ye helpe & his halwes.'

The second oath. That the appellant and defendant had no other arms but those allowed, no other knife, small or large, nor any instrument with point of stone of virtue, nor any herb, nor charm, nor experiment, nor any other enchantment, in confidence of which they hoped the better to conquer the adversary.

The third oath. That they would make the adversary surrender, or kill him; and to depart out of the lists before sunset.

It was customary, in Normandy, for the Constable and the Marshal to ask the combatants if they believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and, upon their answering in the affirmative, to administer the oaths, and to place themselves between them whilst they were engaged in prayer. (Pasquier, Recherches sur la France.) A small bottle of wine and a loaf wrapped up in a serviette was also given to each combatant. (Ceremonies des Gages de Bataille.)

gules, like unto the arms of St. George. He then closed the visor of his helmet, signed himself with the sign of the cross with his hand as lightly as if he had not been armed, and called for his lance. The barrier was then opened, and he rode straight to his pavilion, which was covered with red roses, and, alighting from his charger, entered his pavilion, and awaited the coming of his adversary, as is the custom on such a day.

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. The combat.

Item. King Richard arrived at the lists, accompanied by all the nobles of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, called Walden, and the Count of St. Pol,[1] who had been sent there in great haste from France; and the King had with him full twenty thousand archers, and men-at-arms in great number. Immediately that the King had arrived and had ascended his stand, which was very handsomely adorned in royal array, the King of the heralds mounted one of the tribunes of the lists, and cried, on the part of the King, three times, 'Oez, oez, oez!'

Arrival of the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Count of St. Pol.

[1] Valeran of Luxembourg, third Count of St. Pol, or St. Paul, Constable of France, and by his mother nearly allied to the Imperial race. The Monk of St. Denys mentions that several French nobles had accompanied the Count to witness the combat. (Chronicles, B. xix. c. 11.) The Count was taken prisoner in Picardy by the English in 1374. He remained captive in England many years, and gained the esteem of King Edward III. He was liberated from Windsor Castle on parole, 12th July 1379 (Cartes' Gascon Rolls), and by his engaging manners captivated and married Matilda, widow of Sir Peter Courtney, sister-in-law to Richard, and who was one of the handsomest women in Europe. The Count was a distinguished partisan of the Duke of Burgundy. His subsequent challenge to Henry is well known. The dress worn by his son, Louis of Luxembourg, at a joust at Lisle in 1453, was half grey and half crimson. (Art de ver. les Dates, art. St. Pol, and M. de Coucy.) Amongst the French knights present was Sir Nicholas Paynel, councillor of state, whom Charles had sent as a special envoy, to request Richard not to allow the trial by battle to take place; seeing that on account of the proximity of the Dukes of 'Herford' and Norfolk to the throne of England, and of the former to the throne of France, it might not be unattended with danger. (Tresor des Chartres, viii. J. 641. art. 23.)

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. Proclamation made by the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Afterwards Sir John Bussy came forward with a roll in his hand, which he read; and a herald proclaimed (*after him*), 'It is commanded by the King, by the Constable, and by the Marshal, that no person, poor or rich, be so daring as to put his hand upon the lists, on pain of having his hand chopped off;[1] and that none enter within the lists, save those who have leave from the King and council, the Constable, and the Marshal, upon pain of being drawn and hung.' And he cried on the part of the King, 'Oez! Behold here Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, appellant, who is come to the lists to do his duty against Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, defendant; let him come in the lists to do his duty, upon pain of being declared false:' which the herald cried thrice at each tribune of the lists.

Arrival of the Duke of Norfolk.

As soon as proclamation had been made, the Constable and the Marshal went up to the Duke of Norfolk, who had made his appearance before the barrier of the lists, and administered to him the oath; and when he had been sworn, they opened the barrier, and he entered the lists, saying, 'God speed the right!'[2]

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[1] The penalty in the time of Philippe le Bel in France for entering the lists was the loss of goods and imprisonment; for being mounted during a tournay, the loss of the horse to an esquire, or of an ear to a servant. Every one was compelled to be seated on a bench or on the ground, that all might the better see, 'sur peine du poing;' and it was forbidden to cry, cough, or spit. (Ceremonies des Gages de Bataille; Crapelet, Paris, 1830; to which I would refer the curious for many interesting particulars.) In England the penalty for entering the lists, or making any noise, so that one party might take advantage of the other, was the loss of life or limb, and also of their castles, at the pleasure of the King. (Modus faciendi duellum.)

[2] The great families had not as yet discontinued their war-cries; and in 1453 we find the Duke of Burgundy riding into the lists shouting 'Monjoye,' the national watch-word of France: (his own war-cry was 'Moult me tarde.') In Berry's heraldic MS., No. 9653, ^{55}, Bibl. du Roi, tempore Chas. VII., the war-cries of the great lords are given, with their coats-of-arms. Hall informs us that the Duke of Norfolk's horse was barbed with crimson velvet, embroidered richly with lions of

then alighted before his pavilion, and hung his shield at his saddle-bow. Afterwards the Constable and the Marshal ordered the lances of the lords to be brought; and they measured them, to see if they were of the same length;[1] and the Duke of Surrey handed the lance to the Duke of Hereford, and another knight gave the lance to the Duke of Norfolk. Then the herald cried, by order of the King, the Constable, and the Marshal, that they should take away the tents of the champions, that they should let go the chargers, and that each should perform his duty. When the Duke of Hereford[2] had proved his lance, he pushed forward his shield, and signed himself with the sign of the cross; then placed his lance upon his thigh, and advanced seven or eight paces towards his adversary to perform his duty. The Duke of Norfolk remained motionless,[3] and made no appear-

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. The combat.

silver and mulberry-trees; and that his chair was of crimson velvet, curtained about with white and red damask.

[1] The weapons allowed by the Marshal and the Constable were the 'Glaive,' long sword, short sword, and dagger. The long sword was straight, and called by the French 'estoc,' whence estocade, a thrust. That used at 'Joutes de plaisance' had its point blunted, and was also called 'espee de passon.' The tilting-lances used on such occasions, called 'courtois-rochez,' had also blunt points. (Modus faciendi duellum, and M. de Coucy.)

[2] All the MSS. are in error here; the Duke of Norfolk must be intended, as Henry's crossing himself has been before narrated.

[3] It was hoped by all present that the duel would take place. (Le Moine de Saint-Denys.)

How spirited is the description of the scene by our great poet, and how true his remark!

'And then, that Henry Bolingbroke, and he,
Being mounted, and both roused in their seats,
Their neighing coursers daring of the spur,
Their armed staves in charge, their beavers down,
Their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel,
And the loud trumpet blowing them together;
Then, then . . . . . .
. . . the King did throw his warder down,
His own life hung upon the staff he threw;
Then threw he down himself.'—(Shakspere, Henry IV. pt. ii.)

'The Duke of Norfolke was not fully set forward when the King

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. The King stops the combat.

ance of defence. Then the King rose up and cried, 'Ho! ho!' and commanded that the Duke of Hereford's lance should be taken away, and that each should be conducted to his seat. There they remained nearly two hours after the battle was forbidden. At length the herald of Brittany[1] mounted the tribune of the lists, whence he had before made proclamation, and cried on the part of the King, 'Oez!' Then came forward Sir John Bussy, holding in his hand a large roll of writing,[2] a full fathom long, and cried, 'Oez! My lords, I inform you, by order of the King and council, the Constable, and the Marshal,

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cast down his warder, and *the herald cried* Ho! ho!' (Hall.)

The interference of the King in duels between important personages, to prevent bloodshed, was not an infrequent occurrence. At the combat between the Lord of Harcourt and the Chamberlain de Tancarville, in Normandy, about the year 1301, the Kings of England and Navarre, who were present, besought the King of France that the battle might be stopped, for it would be great pity if two such valiant men as they were should slay one another. Then was cried 'Ho!' by order of the King of France, of which they were both content, and by the said Kings was peace made between the parties. (Chroniques de Normandie; Rouen; vers 1510.)

Another duel, that between the Prior of Kilmaine and the Earl of Ormonde, in 1446, was stopped by the interposition of Henry VI. (Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council, vi. xxi.)

[1] Lobineau doubts whether the Duke of Brittany visited England, but Richard had restored to him the county of Richmond the preceding Tuesday, April 23rd, and the Duke's signature is affixed to the receipt; besides, Richard in his lamentations, after his capture (see page 54), distinctly refers to the Duke's leaving England. (Fœdera.)

The Duke's safe-conduct is, moreover, in existence, and there can be no doubt that he was present, accompanied by his herald. It was usual to designate the Continental heralds by surnames, as Bonne-querelle, Beau-deduit, Il dit vrai, &c. (Melanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque.)

[2] The contents of this roll, which agree in substance with the account in the text, except that the Duke of Norfolk was to be allowed only 1,000*l.* per annum, will be found in Rot. Parl. iii. 383. The reason given for the severe sentence passed upon the Duke of Norfolk is, that he confessed at Windsor, on Monday the 29th of April, certain points which he denied at Oswestry, the 23rd of February; which points were, that he had fomented great troubles within the kingdom. Froissart states that the sentence pleased the lords present well enough,

that Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, appellant, and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, defendant, have both appeared here valiantly, and that each was, and is, ready to do his duty like a brave knight; but because the matters are so weighty between the two lords, it is decreed by the King and council, that Henry of Lancaster shall quit the realm for the term of ten years, and, if he return to the country before the ten years are passed, he shall be hung and beheaded.' And when the proclamation was made, every one had great marvel that the Duke of Hereford should be banished, inasmuch as he had performed his duty so gallantly; and they made so much noise that they could not hear each other speak, for every one thought that he must have

A. D. 1398. 16th Sept. The Speaker informs the lords present of the decision of the Court.

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who remarked, 'My Lord of Derby can go and play and fight out of the kingdom for two or three years. He is young. Let him go to Prussia, to the Holy Sepulchre, to Cairo, or St. Catherine. He can take other voyages to make the time pass away, and he will know where to go. There are his sisters; the one is Queen of Spain, and the other of Portugal; he can very easily go and see them: and all the nobles, knights, and esquires in those kingdoms will willingly receive him.' They then suggested that he might make a voyage to Grenada, or to the Unbelievers, or to Hénault, &c.; that he could much better employ his time than in England; and that Richard would call him back one of these days. (B. iv. c. 64.) Richard remitted four years of the term of banishment, and held out a promise of a further remission on good behaviour.

The young Duke complained bitterly of his punishment, which he said he had not deserved, since he had only wished to repel by force the provocations of an audacious aggressor. The King quieted him by kind words, and promised him, with an oath, to recal him before the end of a year; and that, if his father should die in the meantime, he would faithfully keep for him his paternal inheritance. He even gave him at his departure letters patent by which he acknowledged his innocence, with a view of securing him a favourable reception wherever he might go. But he did not long preserve the same feelings towards him, nor did he keep his promise. Henry on leaving England repaired to France, and was received with all the respect due to a beloved kinsman, and was lodged with his suite in one of the royal palaces, and loaded with presents. (Chron. of the Monk of St. Denys, B. xix. c. 11.)

A. D. 1398. The sentence upon the two Dukes.

forfeited his honour. Presently a herald cried aloud, by the King's order, when they began to be more silent, 'Hear the judgment of the King and council, it is as follows: That Thomas of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, shall quit the realm for the rest of his life, and shall choose whether he would dwell in Prussia, in Bohemia, or in Hungary, or would go right beyond sea to the land of the Saracens and unbelievers; that he shall never return to set foot again on Christian land; and that all his lands shall remain in the King's hands, to reimburse the money that he had received for the payment of the garrison of Calais, and misapplied; but that he shall be allowed ten thousand nobles a-year for his own use.' After proclamation had been made, the Constable and the Marshal conducted the two lords sentenced to banishment before the King's tent, and the King forbad them ever to come into each other's presence, or to go where they would be likely to meet, or to eat or drink in company, on pain of forfeiting their possessions. The King then caused the two lords to be sworn to obey his commands, and afterwards they both mounted their horses and immediately left the lists; and at parting the Duke of Norfolk said to his people, 'We might as well have gone to the great Parliament at Shrewsbury, for if he and I had gone there, we should both have been put to death, as the Earl of Arundel was.' The morrow, King Richard departed, and the Count of Saint Pol with him, for his house at Leicester.[1] As for the Duke of Surrey, he went with twenty thousand men-at-arms to the war in Ireland, for the King. On the Wednesday,

[1] All the manuscripts but one read 'Nonnetes;' *MS. Y* reads 'Noriectes:' but, as some of the writs on the 20th September are dated from Leicester, I presume that is the place intended.

the King arrived at Leicester,[1] and there the two lords who had been banished took their leave of him, on going abroad; afterwards the King went to Windsor, and there the lords took their final leave of the King, and also of the Queen. The same day

A. D. 1398.

The Duke of Surrey sent to Ireland with 20,000 men.

[1] The name of the city where the banished lords had an interview with the King is called in the text Excestre, but I have ventured to substitute Leicester, as the city evidently intended; the names of so many of our cities end in *cester* that the French chroniclers continually confound them.

The order to the Captain of the castle of Sandgate to let Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, and his family pass, is dated October 3, 1398, from Windsor. (Rot. Franc. 22 Ric. II.)

The same day the King issued a licence to all admirals 'to suffer to pass Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who is about to travel in foreign parts towards Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary. (Idem.) He also gave him and the Duke of Hereford letters of protection addressed to all 'Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and Nobles,' and allowed each of the Dukes to appoint his attorneys. (Idem.) The Duke of Norfolk embarked at the port of Keykelerode, near Lowestoft, Suffolk, (whither he had been conducted by order of Richard,) and, accompanied by a suite of thirty persons, he proceeded to Holland. After a short residence on the Rhine, he visited Jerusalem; and died of a broken heart at Venice, 22nd September 1399. The Duke's son, Thomas, then fourteen years of age, petitioned Henry, soon after his accession, that he might remain about the person of the Queen, to 'learn honour and gentleness, for the better serving and doing pleasure to your Highness in time to come.' He never assumed the title of Duke, and was beheaded in 6th Henry IV. His brother John became his heir. (Minutes of Council, i. 99.) In the 28th volume of the Archæologia is given an engraving of the Duke's banner discovered at Venice, in which is beautifully shadowed forth his constant loyalty to both his persecutors, Richard, and Henry of Lancaster. The banner bears the Duke's arms and the two ostrich feathers which Richard had given him; his cognizance, the white hart in a palisade, is attached by a chain to the staff; whilst the healm rests upon the swan of the house of Lancaster, which is also chained to the same staff. The Duke must be considered to have been sacrificed by both parties.

Henry proceeded by way of Calais to Paris. More than 40,000 persons assembled to see him depart, saying, with tears and lamentations, 'Ah! kind Lord Derby, must you leave us! Things will never go happily or well in this country till you return to us.' The Mayor and principal inhabitants accompanied him to Dartford, and some even as far as Dover. (Froissart.)

It appears that he was accompanied or followed by his friends Thomas Erpyngham and William Loveney, as they received letters of protection on going abroad, dated 3rd October, and the latter was appointed his attorney. (Rot.

A. D. 1398. 3rd Oct. Arrival of the Legate.

Master Peter de Bosco, Bishop of Aast in Gascony, the Pope's Legate, presented to the Queen a parrot,

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Franc. 12 et 16 Oct. Westminster.) I have remarked in the Preface, that this Loveney was sent in 1400 to Pomfret Castle by Henry on secret business.

Richard appears to have allowed Henry 2000*l.* a-year for his expenses on the Continent. He paid him a thousand marks, 14th November 1398; and on the 20th of the following June payment is recorded of '1586*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* part of the 2000*l.* which the King had granted him to be advanced annually at the usual times.' (Pell Rolls.)

On the 3rd of October the King signed letters-patent giving power to Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Sir William Elmham, and several other personal friends of the Duke of Norfolk, to transact all necessary business for the said Duke, as well before his courts as elsewhere (Rot. Pat. 22 R. II. p. 1); but there appears to have been much insincerity in the conduct of the King, for he had already distributed much of his property. To Philippa, Duchess of Ireland, he gave one of the Duke of Norfolk's manors, Wilton, by Northampton (Rot. Pat. 22 R. II. p. 1. Sept. 18); and within a fortnight afterwards he gave the Duke of York his manors of Pottis, Pirie, Shelley, and Kerungdon, and the reversion of the manor of Olney after the decease of the Lord of Basset, stipulating that the value should be deducted from his pensions. (Volentes quod tantum de summâ mille marcarum quas predictus Dux habet in scaccario nostro ex concessione carissimi domini nostri Edwardi nuper Regis Anglorum defuncti ac de summâ mille librarum quas ipse ex concessione nostrâ de custumâ et subsidio lanarum in regno nostro Angliæ percipit quantum maneria predicta extendi potuerunt deducatur. Rot. Pat. 22 R. II. p. 1. 18 Oct. 1398.)

On Thursday, the 18th of March 1399, the letters patent granted to Henry and Norfolk to enable them to pursue and have livery of any estates that might fall to them in his absence, were recalled by the consent of all the Lords Commissioners, on the ground that they were granted at Coventry by inadvertence, and without due deliberation. (Rot. Parl. iii. 372.) The Marquis of Dorset and others stated that they were obliged to consent to the recal of these patents for the safety of their lives. (Idem, 450.)

Henry felt Richard's injustice keenly, inasmuch as before leaving England he had received Richard's express promise that he should enjoy his father's possessions, should they fall to him during his absence. (See Rot. Pat. 3 Oct. 22 Ric. II. p. 1.) Holinshed remarks, after the King had recalled the patents of Henry in 1398 (1399), 'the Duke of York, with the Duke of Aumarle his son, went to his house at Langley, rejoicing that nothing had mishappened in the commonwealth through his device or consent.' (Chronicles, p. 496.) 'And daily he lamentably desired aid of Almighty God to turn away from King Richard the dark cloud which he saw hanging over his head.' (Hall.)

Thomas, the son and heir of the Earl of Arundel, lately beheaded, who had been kept in

and gave to each of the lords a bull from the Pope.[1] The banished noblemen then departed, and quitted A. D. 1398. 3rd Oct.

custody, first in the house of the Duke of Exeter, and then in the castle of Ryegate (formerly his father's castle) under the care of Sir John Shelly, found means, by the assistance of one William Scot, a mercer, (according to Fabyan,) to escape to Calais, and to join his uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Cologne. (Peter de Ickham, MS. 4323, Harleian.) I question whether Fabyan has not confounded Scot a mercer, with Mercer a Scot, who scoured the German Ocean and carried off a fleet of merchantmen from the port of Scarborough.

Thus early began the gathering of Henry's friends on the Continent.

[1] Petrus de Bosco, Bishop of Dax, Aast, or Acqs sur l'Adour (*Aquæ Augustæ*). A parrot, from its extreme rarity, was at that time considered a present not unworthy of a Queen. In 1403 Louis Duke of Orleans bought a parrot at Avignon for fifty golden crowns; and, moreover, paid two crowns for its food, and for a cover to the cage, and two other crowns to the *men* who brought it from Avignon to his house at Pont-Saint-Esprit. (Actes Originaux de Louis d'Orleans, Bibl. du Roi.) The écu d'or was worth seventy livres tournois in 1411. (Ordonnances des Rois de France.) The Legate also gave the Queen a frontlet of rubies and large pearls, which was said to be worth more than three thousand francs. (See the list of Isabel's jewels, p. 111.)

In notices of ancient vestments it is frequently remarked that they were embroidered with parrots. We find the Legate, in the January of the following year, partaking of the King's festivities at the palace of the Bishop of Lichfield. He was sent to England to procure the revocation of the statute against Provisors (in which he failed), and for other business of the See of Rome. He had power to dispense with simony in benefices, and to confer them anew; and also to permit parties in the second and third degrees of consanguinity to contract marriage; also, to the number of twenty cases, to allow possession of two cures, even if the parties were dignitaries; also to allow twenty other persons to hold a beneficial cure during their minority, even if they were only ten years of age: by which pretexts he collected almost innumerable sums of money; with which, and with the other presents given him by the King, he departed the kingdom. The above picture of depravity is left us by the Monk of Evesham. (Ed. Hearne, p. 148.) It is a subject of deep regret that a King of England should have had such an exemplar in the art of extorting money from his subjects, and that one in so sacred an office. The Marquis of Saluces, speaking of the luxury of the prelates at the end of the 14th century, remarks satirically, that, after they had been served at dinner with many different kinds of meats beyond what was necessary, they rose from the table; and, after they had taken their collation twice over, exclaimed, 'Quanta mala patimur pro sancta Romana ecclesia!' (Le Livre du Chevalier errant.) In March 18, 1399, an order was issued for a ship or ships to convey the Legate to Ireland. (Rymer, Fœdera.) Henry laid

A. D. 1399. the kingdom; and the King made preparations for leaving, to carry on the war in Ireland.

King Richard leaves Windsor, 25th April, and Westminster, 1st May, for Milford Haven.

It is true that King Richard set out from England, and that he constituted his uncle, the Duke of York, his lieutenant in England, and caused him to take an oath to be true and loyal to him, and proclaimed that all persons throughout the kingdom should pay the same obedience to the Duke as to his own person.

Appoints the Duke of York lieutenant, and four others lords commissioners.

He also appointed the Marquis of Dorset admiral, and Sir William Scrop treasurer; and Sir John Bussy, Sir Thomas Green,[1] and Sir William Bagot, these four knights he constituted lords commissioners of England.

Death of John of Gaunt.

After that the good John of Gaunt, the late Duke of Lancaster, was dead and buried,[2] the King took leave of the noble

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hands on him, 30 May 1400, 'for what cause we know not.' (Gallia Christiana, i. 1052. Fo. edit. of 1715, Paris.)

[1] All the MSS. read Sir Thomas Green; but it should have been Sir Henry Green. Such a mistake is, however, very pardonable in a foreigner. Our Rolls of Parliament are not exempt from blunders. Sir William le Scrop is called Sir Thomas, iii. 368; and even the day of the month is incorrectly given, p. 381, where Tuesday is called the 28th day of January instead of the 29th, which has misled Dr. Lingard. The next day, Wednesday, is correctly given as the 30th.

[2] John of Gaunt did not survive his son's banishment more than three months. A French chronicler, referring to his son, remarks, 'Et toujours cuydoit le duc de Lenclastre pere de Henry muer le propos ou voulonte du Roy et des parties, mais il ny povoit bonnement trouver remede.' (Grans Croniques de France, Paris, fo. 1514.) He died, as Leland and others say, at Ely House, Holborn; but, according to Evesham, at his castle of Leicester; and was buried in St. Paul's. His third wife, Lady Katherine Swinford, did not long survive him. She died in the second year of Henry IV., and was buried at Lincoln. (Hall.) The following interesting anecdote is preserved respecting him, and shews the levity of Richard's character. After Richard, in his expedition into Scotland in 1385, had reduced to ashes several towns and villages, he retraced his steps, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Duke of Lancaster, who urged him to go forwards, that he might reap some solid advantage. The King, guided by his favourites, replied drily to the Duke of Lancaster, who pressed him on that point, 'You, sir, may go wherever you think best. As for me, I shall not take one step farther northward.'—'I have no

Queen of England at Windsor, and ordered and besought his uncle, the Duke of York, and Sir William Scrop, that they should take every care of the Queen, and that she and her people should want for nothing. And the King commanded his physician, named Master Pol, that he should pay the same attention to the Queen as to himself; and ordered Sir Philip la Vache, the Queen's chamberlain, to appoint Master Pol the physician, and the confessor, to be the Queen's guardians. He then desired the confessor, Sir Philip la Vache, and Master Pol to come to him in his chapel, for he wanted to speak to them; and the King begged them that they should tell the truth of what he should ask them; and then asked them upon their oath, 'Do you consider the Lady de Coucy to be sufficiently good, 'gentile,' and prudent, to be guardian and governess of such a lady as Madame,[1] the Queen of England, my consort? and consider well among yourselves, that you may advise me.' Then Sir Philip la Vache and Master Pol replied, 'My dear lord, here is the confessor, who knows more of the ladies from the other side of the

A. D. 1399. 25th April.

Appointment of the Queen's household.

other will than that of my sovereign,' replied Lancaster respectfully; 'I am only a subject, and a submissive one.'—'That is what is in question,' replied Richard angrily, and withdrew. (L'Art de verifier les Dates, art. Rois d'Angleterre.)

There appears reason to believe that both the Black Prince and the Duke of Gloucester were jealous of the power and influence of John of Gaunt. In the last year of Edward III. the Commons seized an opportunity, when the King requested of them a supply, to demand the removal from his person of the Duke of Lancaster, Alice Perrers, Latimer, the Lord Chamberlain, and others. (Rapin.) It is said that the Black Prince was the instigator of this petition. (Rapin's Editor.) It is true that the Duke was restored on Richard's accession: but I suspect this was the commencement of the jealousy between the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester; and that, later, John of Gaunt repaid the grudge by voting for Gloucester's death. The MS. Harl. 247 states, 'The Duke of Lancaster was sore grieved because himselfe was not chosen to be of the King's counsayle.' (p. 169.)

[1] Miss Strickland states that Isabel had a right from her birth to the title of Madame, as eldest daughter of France.

A. D. 1399. 25th April.

water than we do; let him say what appears good to him.' And the King charged him upon his conscience that he should speak the truth; and the confessor begged the King's pardon, and entreated him to make Sir Philip la Vache or Master Pol speak, for the lady might conceive an ill-will to him for it. Then the King commanded them on their consciences to say whether it were an advantage, or not, that she should be governess of the Queen. The confessor replied, 'I do not, upon my conscience, consider her prudent enough to be governess of such a lady as the Queen of England.' The King then asked Sir Philip la Vache and the physician what was their opinion.[1] Sir Philip la Vache replied, 'My dear lord, my Lady de Coucy does not appear to me to be sufficiently discreet to be the governess, nor fit to be trusted with the controul of such a lady.' Master Pol was of the same opinion, and told the King his reasons; 'For,' said he, 'she lives in greater state, all things considered, than does the Queen; for she has eighteen of your horses at her command, besides those belonging to her husband and in his livery, when he comes here. She keeps two or three goldsmiths, six or eight em-

Extravagance of Lady de Coucy.

[1] Philip de la Vache (or le Vache) son of Sir R. de la Vache, had been appointed captain of Calais, (Rot. Franc. 14 Ric. II. October 1390,) and of Guysnes, (Idem, 16 Ric. II. October 1392,) and in January 1397 received from the King the goods and chattels that belonged to John James of Wootton, forfeited as an outlaw. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. pt. 1.) He appears to have been knighted on the occasion of his appointment as Master of the Queen's Household. He was associated with Sir Hugh le Despencer (query, 'Master Pol,') in the custody of the Queen's house at Wallingford, subject to the controul of the four Commissioners, William Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Bagot, by the Duke of York, from St. Albans, 12th July 1399. (Rymer, Fœdera.) Henry allowed him to retain his post near Isabel, and confirmed to him his fee of the castle, manor, and lordship of Ewyas Harald in the Marches of Wales. (Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5, m. 4.) He accompanied Isabel to Boulogne in 1401.

broiderers, two or three mantua-makers, and two or three furriers, constantly employed,—as many as are kept by you or the Queen. She has also built a chapel which cost fourteen hundred nobles.' Both Sir Philip la Vache and the confessor remarked, that if she had remained in France, she would have done nothing of the kind. The King then called Sir William Scrop, Treasurer of England, and said, 'I tell you what I wish you to do: when I shall have gone to Ireland, and you shall have received letters from me: cause to be paid, on my account, all the debts which the Lady de Coucy,[1] or her people, have contracted in our kingdom, and give her sufficient money to take her to Paris, and

A. D. 1399. 25th April. Lady de Coucy.

[1] Mary de Coucy was the eldest daughter of Lord de Coucy, and wife of Henry de Bar, Count de Cilley, eldest son of Robert Duke de Bar. Her husband, whom she married in 1383, was taken prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis, in Hungary, in 1396; and in the autumn of the same year she accompanied Isabel to England. Her father, Enguerrand, Lord de Coucy and Count of Soissons, created Earl of Bedford in 1366, and K.G., and, subsequently, Grand Butler of France, was of the number of the French nobles who were given as hostages in 1360 for John King of France, who had been taken prisoner in 1356. He acquired, while in England, the esteem and affection of Edward III., who gave him his liberty, and caused him to marry Isabella his eldest daughter, to whom he gave as dowry the lordship of Bedford and other lands. When the war broke out between England and France in 1370, the Lord de Coucy, to avoid giving offence, went to Italy, and entered into the service of the Popes Urban V. and Gregory XI. against the Viscontis. After the death of Edward, in 1377, he attached himself solely to France; and, in order to break with England, suffered his wife and his second daughter Philippote to return to England, only retaining Mary his eldest daughter. At the same time he returned the order of the Garter, saying he should in future serve the country that had his first vows. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, and died the next year at Burse from vexation. It was a common saying respecting him, 'Je ne suis Roy, ni prince aussy, Je suis le Sire de Coucy.'

Philippote shortly after married Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland and Earl of Oxford, whose neglect of her in 1397, and his subsequent connexion with the Landgravine of Luxembourg, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, caused such umbrage to the Dukes of Gloucester and York. Although the Lady de Coucy was dismissed attendance on the Queen in October or November 1399, she did not leave England until

A. D. 1399. 25th April. Dismissal of Lady de Coucy, and appointment of Lady Mortemer.

provide a ship for her passage; and send to the Lady Mortemer, and appoint her principal lady of honour and governess of the Queen,[1] by my desire.' This ordinance finished, King Richard and the Queen of England walked, hand in hand, from the castle to the lower court, and thence to the Deanery of St. George; where the canons brought St. George's mantle to the King, and the King wore it over his shoulders, as is the custom of the country, and then entered the church. The canons chaunted very sweetly, and the King himself chaunted a collect, and afterwards made his offering; he then took the Queen in his arms, and kissed her more than forty

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the following January, when she returned in the company of some Flemish merchants. Mezeray and Froissart state that it was she who carried the news of Richard's death to Paris. On her arrival the Royal Dukes sought out her husband, who immediately communicated the news to Charles VI. (Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, ii. 365.) That her husband was not killed at the battle of Nicopolis, as stated in the Art de verifier les Dates, appears from the following entry in the papers of the Duke of Orleans.

13th January 1396. 'Louis d'Orleans a donné 200 francs à Jean Wilay pour lui aider à supporter les frais ès parties d'Allemagne pour la delivrance des corps de ses très chers et très amés cousins Henri de Bar et le Seigneur de Coucy prisonniers ès mains des Turcs. (Champollion, Vie des Ducs d'Orleans, iii. 40.)

After her father's death she claimed the heirship of all her father's lands, and took possession of them, notwithstanding the process her sister entered against her. She sold the lordship of Coucy to the Duke of Orleans for 400,000 livres, to the prejudice of her son. Le Laboureur remarks, 'Je ne scay par quel esprit, sinon qu'elle se laissa cajoller aux liberalités du Duc d'Orleans.' (Hist. de Charles VI. p. 499.) She died in 1405, not without some suspicion of having been poisoned. Her daughter Barbara married the Emperor Sigismund, brother to Anne of Bohemia. Her brother-in-law, William Baron de Coucy, received a safe-conduct for visiting his relatives in England, 16th February 1397. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II.) His brother and sister, Robert and Mary, founded the Augustin monastery in the lower city of Bar. It was the Duchess of Ireland who escorted Isabel on her return to France. (Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council, i. 136. Art de verifier les Dates, iii. 257, and iv. 148; 4to ed.)

[1] Eleanor Holland, widow of Roger Mortemer Earl of March, Lieutenant of Ireland.

A. D. 1399. 25th April. Parting interview of the King and Queen.

times, saying sorrowfully, 'Adieu, Madame, until we meet again; I commend me to you.' Thus spoke the King to the Queen in the presence of all the people; and the Queen began to weep, saying to the King, 'Alas! my lord, will you leave me here?' Upon which the King's eyes filled with tears on the point of weeping, and he said, 'By no means, Madame; but I will go first, and you, Madame, shall come there afterwards.' Then the King and Queen partook of wine and comfits together at the Deanery, and all who chose did the same. Afterwards the King stooped, and took and lifted the Queen from the ground, and held her a long while in his arms, and kissed her at least ten times, saying ever, 'Adieu, Madame, until we meet again,' and then placed her on the ground and kissed her at least thrice more; and, by our Lady! I never saw so great a lord make so much of, nor shew such great affection to, a lady, as did King Richard to his Queen.[1] Great pity was it that they

[1] When Richard espoused Isabel, (October 31st, 1396,) she was only eight years old, whilst he was in his twenty-seventh year. There appears no reason to doubt the testimony of all the historians, that, notwithstanding the great disparity of age, Richard was sincerely attached to her. Miss Strickland has given us a very interesting sketch of her chequered career. The Queen must have had some influence over Richard, for I find one Thomas Enlene Wyke 'pardoned all his felonies and transgressions, on the intercession of our dear consort the Queen,' December 1st, 1396. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. p. 1.) Mr. Webb remarks that Isabel's dowry was to have been 800,000 livres (francs), but it was never paid. (Archæol. xx. 118.) I find the case to stand thus. "Richard declares 'the King of France was to have paid him 600,000 francs dower, that is to say, 300,000 francs at the solemnization of the said marriage, 100,000 francs at the end of a year after that event, and 100,000 francs per annum for two years; which 300,000 francs were paid by our said father by the hands of Raoul Dang'tonvill', Esq., the 4th November, the 20th year of our reign; and since then 100,000 francs (were paid) at the end of the first year, and also 100,000 francs at the end of the second year. The present deed is a quittance for the third and last payment, dated Westminster, 19th October 1398.' (Rot. Franc. 22 Ric. II.) The same day letters patent were granted to Thomas Bishop of Carlisle, and John of Montagu, Earl Sarum, to receive

A. D. 1399. 25th April.

separated, for never saw they each other more.[1] Afterwards the King embraced all the ladies, and then mounted his horse.

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the above 100,000 francs. (Idem.) Richard, in return, gave his Queen the castle, comote, and lordship of Pembroke, the castle and town of Tyneby, and the succession to the castle, town, and lordship of Kilgarrew, comote of Wyserowle (or Ostrolowe), with Saint Clere and Trehayn, after the death of John Golafre (Captain of Cherbourg), during her life. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. p. 1.) It was the castle of Pembroke that Richard selected for his debarkation for Ireland. In the 1st of Henry IV. the sheriff accounts for 261*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* received from these estates; and it was one of the first acts of Henry's Privy Council, upon a prospect of invasion by the French, to order 'that the castle of Pembroke should be well guarded from the invasion of the enemy.' (Proceedings, &c. of the Privy Council, i.)

Isabel, after her return to France, 'veuve et vierge tout ensemble,' was married 29th June, 1406, at Amboise, to Charles Count of Angoulême, afterwards Duke of Orleans and of Valois, Count of Blois and Beaumont, and Lord of Coucy. (Anselme, Hist. Généalog. de la Maison de France, i. 208.) The marriage had been proposed two years before by Louis Duke of Orleans. Martial de Paris thus alludes to his motives:

'Par le moyen de ce traictié
Furent faiz de grans mariages;
Pour entretenir l'amitié
Du sang de France et les lignaiges,
Le filz d'Orléans espousa
Ysabeau, fille aisnée de France,
Qui paravant se maria
Au Roi Richart pour aliance.'
(Vigiles de Chas. VII. MS. de la Bibl. du Roi, fo. 3.)

Isabel expired at Blois, Septr. 13, 1409, a few hours after having given birth to her infant Jeanne, who, in due time, married the Duke of Alençon.

Charles of Orleans appears to have been much attached to this amiable woman, to whom he thus affectionately alludes in the following ballad:

'Dieu Cupido et Vénus la Déesse,
Supplie présentement
Humblement
Charles Duc d'Orleans,
Qui a esté longuement
Ligement
L'un de vos obéissans;
Et entre les vrais amans
Vos servans,

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[1] For proof of the repeated attempts that Isabel made to join her lord, King Richard of England, see Appendix A.

There many knights kissed hands on taking their *From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.*

Le temps de ses jeunes ans,
Très plaisans,
A vous servir loyaument.
Quil vous plaise regarder
Et passer
Ceste requeste présente
Sans la vouloir refuser;
Mais penser
Que d'umble cuer la présente
A vous par loyal entente
En attente
De vostre grace trouver;
Car sa fortune dolente
Le tourmente
Et le constrainte de parler.
Comme ainsi soit que la mort
A grand tort,
En droit fleur de jeunesse,
Lui ait osté sans déport
Son ressort,
Sa seule dame et liesse.
Dont a fait veu et promesse
Par detresse,
Désespoir et déconfort,
Que jamais n'aura Princesse
Ne maîtresse,
Car son cuer en est d'accord,' &c.

(Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque. Paris, 1780.)

It seems that the deities were propitious; for, notwithstanding his vow, he married subsequently Bonne d'Armagnac, daughter of the Constable of France, and, thirdly, Mary of Cleves.

It would seem that the Duke was acquainted with the poems of Chaucer. His first verse resembles his 'House of Fame,' where, speaking of 'the God of Thonder,' he says,

'That thou haste so truely
Long served ententively
His blind nephew Cupido
And faire Venus also.'

By Mary of Cleves the Duke of Orleans had two daughters, Mary, who married John de Foix, Viscount of Narbonne, and Jeanne Abbess of Fontevrault; and one son, Louis, who succeeded Charles VIII. in the throne of France, and who, by the wisdom of his government, merited the glorious surname of Father of his People. (Précis Historique, prefixed to 'Poésies de Chas. d'Orléans.' Paris, 1809, 12°.) The order of the Porcupine, or of the Cameo, so called from a cameo, on which was engraved a porcupine, worn by all the knights, was instituted in 1391 by Louis Duke of Orleans, to commemorate the birth of his son Charles. Its motto was 'Eminus et cominus.' (See Moréri, articles Toison d'or, and Porc-épic.) Taken prisoner at Azencourt in 1415, Charles of Orleans was long detained in captivity at Windsor, Knaresborough, and at Pontefract.

From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

A. D. 1399.

King Richard at Pembroke, May 19th.

departure,[1] and trumpets sounded, and men-at-arms and archers from every country arrived to serve the noble King Richard, who was careful to ride early and late, until he arrived at Milford, where was a very fine port, with many fine ships. From Milford the King wrote a most affectionate letter to the Queen, commending himself to her many times, for she was ill with grief from losing her lord. The King then commanded the Duke of York to dismiss the Lady de Coucy, as he had before ordered; and then passed in review his men-at-arms and archers, and made his ordinances for provisions and necessaries for the voyage, and gave daily orders to hasten the embarkation; so great was his desire to pass the sea into the country of great Ireland, where his enemies are, who have given him much annoyance, and have done great

Prepares to embark for Ireland.

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[1] Just before the departure of King Richard for his Irish campaign, he invited the nobility to attend a grand tournament at Windsor, where forty knights and their esquires, all clad in green, and bearing Isabel's device of a white falcon, maintained the beauty of the Virgin Queen against all comers. Isabel herself was present, but many of the principal nobility absented themselves. (Froissart.)

Richard took with him to Ireland his treasury, relics, and jewels. (Walsingham.) His treasurer, Robert de Farington, had preceded him. (Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. p. 1, Oct. 3.) Walsingham states he had intended to hold a parliament at Dublin, which he insinuates was to have been a continuation of the Shrewsbury parliament, not a customary assembly of the three estates. For this purpose he was accompanied by the Bishops of St. David's, Carlisle, and Lincoln (Creton), Exeter (Complete History of England), London (Walsingham), and Sarum (Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. 20 May); the Abbot of Westminster, the Archdeacon of Norfolk; the Earls of Salisbury, Gloucester, and Ormond; the Lords Bardolf and Morley; John Lyncoln, clerk and secretary; and Henry Greve, herald. (Rymer, Fœdera) He took with him also the sons of the late Duke of Gloucester, and of the Duke of Hereford, afterwards Henry V. (Walsingham), Sir Hugh Courtenay, Sir Thomas West, and the following captains and gentlemen: Reginald Grey of Ruthyn, Edmund Noone, John of Montagu, Edmund Thorp, John Howard, John St. John, Hugh Luttrell, Wm. Lyle sen., Walter Betterley, Andrew Hakel, Reginald Braybrook, and William Stondon, as well as many clerks. (Fœdera, April 1399.)

damage, as well to him as to his lords, and the people of the kingdom of England. *From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.*

For in the country of Hibernia and of Ireland are two races speaking two languages: the one speak bastard English, and dwell in the good towns, cities, castles, and fortresses of the country, and in the sea-ports, and have been always friendly to King Richard; the other are a wild people, who speak a strange language, and are called Crichemons, which have neither town, house, castle, nor dwelling, and dwell always in the woods, and on the mountains of the country, and have many chiefs among themselves, of whom the most powerful go barefoot and without breeches, and ride horses without saddles.[1] Their most powerful chief is called Macmore, who styles himself King of Ireland and Hibernia, and who is indeed a brave warrior, and at that time caused King Richard to hasten to cross the sea, and take vengeance upon his mortal enemies. A. D. 1399. The warlike Macmore.

Nevertheless, he was obliged to wait ten days towards the north for a wind; and then the King and all his army embarked to the sound of trumpets,[2]

[1] Richard, when writing from Dublin in 1395 to the Duke of York, whom he had left as custos in England, remarks, 'for in Ireland there are three sorts of people: the wild Irish our enemies, the Irish now in rebellion, and the faithful English.' He admits that the second class were in rebellion for grievances and wrongs done to them, and that they had not been wisely treated. (Minutes of Council, i. 56.) He withdrew his justiciaries shortly afterwards. Thus early began the chapter of Irish grievances. Henry V. took with him to the siege of Rouen in 1418 a number of Irish, who are described as fighting half-naked; some of them on little horses, which they rode without saddle or armour, but which enabled them the better to escape from the men-at-arms on their great steeds. They are accused of committing great ravages in the country, and of carrying off the children that they might be ransomed. (Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne, iv. 388.) Mr. Webb suggests that the Cavenaghes, or Kinshelaghes, (the names of considerable tribes,) may be possibly intended by the word 'Cricbemons,' or Killrigny, as Creton has it. (See Davies' Discoverie.)

[2] Creton remarks, trumpets and the sound of minstrels might be heard day and night. William

From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

A. D. 1399.

The King sets sail from Milford Haven, 29th May.

and the King commanded that they should set sail in the name of God and St. George; and they had such fine weather that in less than two days the King and his people saw the tower of Waterford. When the common people perceived the ship approach the port, they went out, both small and great, to give the King an honourable reception, for they much desired his arrival. Then the King and his people landed, and remained there six whole days to make their ordinances; and the seventh day the King set out with his army, and a goodly company of men-at-arms and archers, and in this manner passed full eighty miles up the country, when he came in the neighbourhood of the enemy. There the King waited fourteen days, making divers ordinances, in expectation of the arrival of the Earl of Rutland with a strong reinforcement from England. Then was an order made by the King and the Constable that every one should provide himself with victuals; and the morrow, the vigil of St. John at (Mid-)summer, early in the morning, they marched directly towards Macmore, who would not submit to the King, and said that he would make war upon him till his death, for he maintained that he was king and lord

Marches to give Macmore battle, 23rd of June.

Bynglay, William York, and Walter de Lynne, minstrels, accompanied King Richard to Ireland. (Rymer, viii. 78, 79.) The principal instruments then known were the organ, harp, tambourin, trumpets, busines, hautboy, and flute. The Duke of Orleans lent the Count of St. Pol four of his minstrels to attend him at a joust in England in 1390, and they were paid one hundred francs per month. The minstrels also narrated and invented tales ('feseurs de dictez'). Philippe de Mazières, Councillor of Charles V., complained that they often invented falsehoods. He calls them 'feseurs de bourdes.' At the same time he praises the custom of having a large company of minstrels sacred to the honour of God and his royal Majesty, 'which company you will cause to sound sweetly at the elevation of the Host, and in thy battle, and particularly at royal solemnities; and the trumpets will be always before the King; and it is desirable that the King should have minstrels upon low instruments for his recreation, causing a good digestion to the royal person after his audiences and labours.' (Champollion, Vie des Ducs d'Orléans, i. 81. 234.)

of Ireland and Hibernia. When the King heard his determination, he made his army proceed by the deserts to seek and find Macmore and his people, who abide always in the woods, rocks, and mountains; and he had with him full four thousand wild people, who were savage as lions, and, as they said, were not dismayed at the English. The whole host of King Richard were assembled at the entrance of the deep woods, and every one put himself in array, for it was thought, at the time, that we should have battle; but the Irish did not venture out of the woods. The King then gave orders that they should set fire to the whole country round about; and he put his people in array, and displayed banners, pennons, and standards. There he created many knights and esquires. And presently there arrived more than ten thousand five hundred of the common people of the country, that the King had collected to cut down the woods before his army. For there were no roads, and never before had passed that way an army that was so daring; for the woods are dangerous in many places, and would engulph both men and horses. This is why Macmore's people make them their retreat, because they cannot be taken there. But King Richard and his army passed the said woods in battle-array; and Macmore's people raised a great shouting and noise, but did not dare to wait the assault, for they were sorely afraid of the arrows. Some of them would assail the van-guard and rear-guard, throwing their darts, and then running away like dogs. In this manner the King and his army passed the woods until they came to a plain, when Macmore's uncle surrendered himself to the King, with a chain about his neck,[1] and a

From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

A. D. 1399. June 23.

King Richard orders the woods to be set on fire.

Malachias O'Morrouch. See Archæol. xx. p. 243.

[1] The word 'charte' denotes a chain or prison-link; but in Creton's MS. the word is 'hart,' a cord, or the band of a fagot. (See *Gloss.*) In Ireland a wyth was worn in token of submission. (Stow.)

From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

A. D. 1399.

The uncle of Macmore submits.

drawn sword in his hand; and with him came a great many people wearing his livery, but barefoot like so many vagabonds, for they were much afraid they would have been put to death. Now when the King saw them begging for mercy, he was moved with compassion, and said, 'Friends, as to the evil and the wrong that you have committed against me, I pardon you; but you must be my servants as good and faithful friends towards me, and must be henceforth obedient towards us.' A message was also sent to Macmore, who called himself king of the country, that, if he would come straightway to the King in the same manner that his uncle had done, he would pardon all his rebellion, and would give him elsewhere cities and castles to dwell in. But Macmore told King Richard's people that never would he acknowledge him for king, but that he would make war upon him all his life, as he had good right to do.[1]

Macmore defies King Richard.

Full well he knew that the King's army was nigh famished, for there was nothing that could be bartered for in that country, except a few oats for the horses, who had all taken cold, and were much injured by lodging in the open air, and from want of provender. There the English suffered much distress, and could not come up with Macmore to take him. When the King heard the answer that Macmore had made to his people, amusement or mirth in the dwellings there was none, but mourning in the place of rejoicing, for the army could remain there no longer for the famine. Notwithstanding, shortly afterwards three ships arrived laden with provisions for the relief and comfort of the army, which put into a port close by; and the same day and the day following were all the provisions sold and distri-

[1] At this very time his son and cousins were hostages in England. (Pell Rolls.) 'The rebels Macmorgh and the tall Onell' had long given Richard much anxiety. Min. of Council, I. 57.

buted on the King's account. On the morrow morning the King and his army set out on their march straight towards his enemies. When Macmore knew of the approach of the King, he sent to him a man who well knew the language, saying that he wished to be friends with him, and to sue for mercy; and begged he would send to him some lord who might be relied upon, to treat for peace and put an end to the deadly war. This news made every one joyful, for they had suffered much with famine and fatigue in the desert country. The King, when he knew for certain that Macmore had sent him the message, summoned his council, and asked them who would be the most capable, and would be willing to go and parley with Macmore. Upon which the Earl of Gloucester,[1] captain of the rear-guard, very willingly offered to go, with which the King and council were much pleased; and the King desired the Earl to impress upon Macmore the amount of his deceitful conduct and of his outrage against him; and that he should make good preparations, and take a good force with him. The Earl of Gloucester accordingly set out, taking with him two hundred lances and a thousand archers. When the Earl arrived at a spot between two woods near the sea, Macmore, who perceived the Earl and his men, began to descend the mountain where he was stationed. Macmore was accompanied by a prodigious number of the Irish, and galloped down the mountain before his people, as a courser would on a common. He was well mounted on a capital horse, without saddle or saddle-bow: which steed was so excellent

From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi. A. D. 1399. June.

[1] The original reads 'the Duke of Gloucester,' but immediately afterwards the author writes 'the Earl of Gloucester,' that is, Thomas, son of Edward Lord Despencer, whose elevation to an earldom is related page 140, and whose capture and execution by the partisans of Henry is subsequently narrated.

From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

A. D. 1399. June.

that it had cost him, they said, four hundred cows; for in the said country their traffic for every thing is with cattle, there is so little money amongst them. When Macmore arrived at a spot near a little stream, he made his people retire towards the woods, (*leaving him alone*) like a sentinel. In like manner the Earl caused his people to retreat.

Interview between the Earl of Gloucester and Macmore.

Thus the two lords met, giving each other a kind reception after the custom of the country, and Macmore behaved in a friendly manner. He was a tall man, pretty good-looking, and held in his hand a dart. The Earl of Gloucester spoke first to Macmore, recounting to him the crimes and the injuries which he had done towards King Richard on many occasions, and especially that he had most wrongfully put to death, without trial, the good Earl of March, who was of the blood-royal of England. They spoke together of many other matters, but could come to no agreement, nor make peace, and so took leave of one another. Each returned to his own people: and the Earl returned towards the King, and told him that Macmore was not willing to come to an agreement, except he might have peace without molestation, and might retain and hold his own country without fear of imprisonment, otherwise he would never make peace as long as he lives; and said he would keep what was dear to him, if he had a mind to it.[1] Then was the King exceedingly wroth, and swore by St. George and St. Edward that he would never leave the land of Ireland till he had him in his power alive or dead. Alas! little did he know of the great treason which

Its fruitless result.

[1] It is necessary to refer to an error into which Mr. Webb has fallen in translating the parallel passage of Creton's poem. He has rendered it, 'nothing venture, nothing have;' but some French sçavans to whom I have submitted the passage, which is simply 'Et qui cuidra avoir bon, si l'envie,' cannot see the least ground for such a paraphrase. (See Archæol. xx. 13 and 307.)

was rising against him day by day. As the King and his army could no longer sojourn there, for the famine, which was so great that they had no longer any victuals, they went on straight to Dublin, which is one of the best cities of the country, a sea-port, with a well-supplied market. There they found plenty of provisions, and were refreshed and succoured. The King then made proclamation in favour of his people, for he could not forget Macmore, but promised a hundred marks of gold to the man who should take him; and said that, God willing, he would return when the season arrived that the trees were stript of their leaves, and then he would burn the woods right before him to get at him. On the very same day arrived to their succour the Constable, called the Earl of Rutland, with one hundred armed barges, well provisioned; at which the King heartily rejoiced, for he loved him exceedingly, more so than any other lord in the kingdom. The King asked him, 'Constable, where have you tarried so long?' The Earl made his excuses with hauteur before all the lords.[1] Whilst the King remained

From MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

A. D. 1399.

The King leads his army to Dublin.

Sets a price on the head of Macmore.

Arrival of the Duke of Albemarle.

[1] It appears to me that Mr. Webb has not read rightly the parallel passage in Creton (pages 45 and 309, vol. xx. Archæol.); and, with sincere respect to that gentleman, I conceive he has not given the author's meaning. In MS. No. 7532, Bibl. du Roi, the reading is:

'Il sexcusa haultement devant touz,
Comptant en fu le Roy Car humbles et doulx
Estoit vers lui non obstant quare loms
De ce quot dit
Avoit fait, dont pluseurs foiz fu maudit.'

I presume the idea conveyed is, that the King had no objection to his haughty carriage before the lords, as he was humble and submissive to him in private, although his conduct had been so perverse.

In his metrical history Creton insinuates that it was solely owing to the treacherous counsel of Rutland that Richard was induced to tarry in Ireland eighteen days after the Earl of Salisbury's departure for England; and in his letter to Richard (Archæol. vol. xxviii.) he says, 'Il a, très redoubté Prince, l'ardent affection d'amour que tu avois au très faulx Comte de Rotelant t'a esté molt cher vendue, car par luy seul fut ton passaige de 18 jours d'Hy-

A. D. 1399. there, seven weeks passed away without their being able to receive any tidings from England: so tempestuous was it at sea, and so contrary was the wind, that no barge or ship could live at sea; and the people of that part had great marvel that such stormy weather should last so long. On that account they could not receive news from Albion. Alas! the tidings thence were most unpropitious for noble King Richard.

End of paragraph from MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

On King Richard's departure the Queen removes to Wallingford.

Item. It is true that after the departure of the King, the Queen was ill of grief a fortnight or more: when she was recovered, she removed to Wallingford,[1] by the advice of the Duke of York and the

bernye en Angleterre sans avoir nouvelles de tes ennemis par son faulx enginement. Helas et porquoy te *cons* tu plus que ceulx de ton conseil qui desiroient molt ta brièvе retournée. Et certes je m'esmerveille molt cõme les dieux de la mer te furent si favorables qui te manderent vent pour arriver au port de Appleforde.—Mieulx eust este pour toy d'estre arrivé d'autre region.' How opposite to Henry's prompt decision and energetic action was Richard's irresolution and loss of time, which in military movements are so all-important!

[1] Juvenal des Ursins has the following remark respecting Isabel: 'Et luy osterent tous ses serviteurs et servantes de la langue de France, excepté une damoiselle et son confesseur, et aucuns Anglois entendans et parlans quelque peu de la langue de France. Et en un chasteau la mirent, qui fut un exploit bien merveilleux, dont le Duc de Lanclastre fut bien joyeux.' (Vie de Charles VI.) That this remark is correct is confirmed by the Minutes of the Council (i. 138), where Simonette is the only French attendant mentioned as returning with Isabel to France; Marione Burdeux (with submission to Miss Strickland, Queens of England, iii. 21) being evidently a native of England—Mary Ann Burder. Simonette was a Saracen by birth, and lived with Isabel some time after her second marriage, when the Duke of Orleans gave her a dowry of twenty écus d'or upon her own marriage. (Vie des Ducs d'Orleans, par Champollion, i. 284.) The écu d'or was worth, in 1411, seventy livres tournois. (Ordonnances des Rois.) From Wallingford Isabel appears to have removed afterwards to Sunning, near Reading, where the lords who rose in behalf of Richard found her in January 1400. (Walsingham, Hist. Ang.) After the failure of that rising, Isabel, who had accompanied the Earls of Surrey and Salisbury as far as Cirencester, was taken, and confined at Ledes' castle in Kent. She was afterwards removed to Havering-at-Bower, Essex. Here the French ambassadors, who arrived in England soon after Henry's coronation, had an interview with her. At that time (according to Froissart) Lady de Coucy

other lords. The Lady de Coucy was (*then*) dismissed, as the King had ordered. A. D. 1399.

Item. The year one thousand three hundred four score and nineteen, in the month of August, came the Duke of Lancaster, and landed toward the north coast of England,[1] and had with him eight small ships and two boats of passage; who sent a small boat ashore, (with some people, who planted his banner on the land, and left it there,[2]) and then returned to the ship. A fisherman (*presently*) came running up to the banner, and had great marvel for what reason it was planted there, for he knew nothing about the matter, yet he beheld the ships at sea. The Duke ordered his people to tell the man to acquaint the people of the town of his arrival; upon which the man went down the town, crying out, 'Our lord the Duke of Lancaster is come to take possession of his rightful inheritance.' Presently there assembled full eight thousand men of the county, who, with one voice, called out to him to come to land boldly and take his own inheritance, and they would receive him as their rightful lord. The Duke accordingly landed, and went and lodged at Pomfret castle; and all the people of the north country came there to aid him.

Arrival in England of Henry of Lancaster.

Henry lands, and proceeds to Pomfret castle.

was still in attendance upon her; but she left England early in January 1400, in company with some Flemish merchants. The conduct of the Duke of York, in causing the removal of Isabel from Windsor to Wallingford, is evidently regarded by Juvenal des Ursins in an unfavourable light.

The Duke's loyalty must be regarded as subject to suspicion. We do not hear of his having made any strenuous effort on behalf of his sovereign; but he appears to have suffered himself to be led by the current of events. Before taking leave of him, I would remark, that he was the keeper of the King's falcons, and that the price which he gave for some of them proves that the royal diversion of falconry was not unattended with expense. Two falcons and two lanerets cost thirty-nine marks, and one 'gentil falcon and one tercel' seventeen marks. (Pell Issue Rolls, 1 Hen. IV.)

[1] See Appendix E.

[2] The passage within brackets is only found in MS. *O*; but I conceive it must have been in the original chronicle, as the sense is incomplete without it.

A. D. 1399.

Henry is joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and Sir Henry Percy.

It is true that the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Westmoreland, and Sir Henry Percy, all three, went to the Duke to explain that it was by no means by their advice that he was banished at the time when he should have fought the Duke of Norfolk, and that they were quite ready to assist him with twenty thousand archers, to aid him to regain his rightful heritage; for which the Duke thanked them.[1] It is a truth that the Duke was accompanied by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the young Earl of Arundel. It is a fact that, immediately it came to the knowledge of my Lord William Scrop, he sent as speedily as he possibly could to King Richard in Ireland, to acquaint him of the arrival of the Duke of Lancaster. As soon as King Richard heard the news, he prepared to return with his army to England. In the meanwhile, the Duke of Lancaster, immediately on his arrival at his castle of Pomfret, sent to different towns and different castles, to the prelates, the lords, and the commons, a hundred and fifty pairs of letters, falsely railing, by different artful fabrications, against King Richard and his government.[2] Those which

The Earl of Wiltshire acquaints Richard of the arrival of Henry.

Henry circulates seditious letters.

[1] Richard had summoned the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Henry Percy, and all the valets of the crown in Northumberland, to join him in his expedition to Ireland (Fœdera, 23rd March); but the Earl was unwilling to go, and replied to Richard that he had men enough without him: which so incensed the King, that he banished him and his brother the kingdom. Northumberland sent to Scotland to ask for the loan of a manor till the King was appeased. The Scotch promised him one, and offered to send him five or six hundred lances if he wanted them. (Froissart.)

[2] A confirmation of this fact is found in the following passage in MS. Harleian 1989, fol. 381, 'The Antiquities, &c. of Chester.' 'Et universa castella per totam Angliam *diversis cautelis* dictorum (Henry and the Archbishop of Canterbury) ad opus ducis capta et occupata fuerunt.' See Appendix D. If we may credit the testimony of Hardyng, Henry's father, John of Gaunt, had forged a chronicle, and lodged copies of it in several monasteries to gain it credit; which chronicle stated that Edmund Crookback, son of Henry the Third, was the elder brother of Edward, but that

came to the commons of London said, 'that King Richard had laid his plans secretly, and had drawn over many powerful lords, as well of France, Germany, and Brittany, as of divers other kingdoms; and that by the aid of the said allies he would lord it, and domineer more greatly and mightily, over the kingdom of England than any of his predecessors, the Kings of England, had ever done; and that he would keep the villans of England in greater subjection and harder bondage than any Christian King had ever held his subjects.' They moreover contained, 'that he would first cause to be apprehended all the chief magistrates of the good cities of England, who, ever since his coronation, had maintained the opinions of the commons, in opposition to him and his council, and put them to death by divers torments; and he had purposed, as soon as he should be come from Ireland, he would secretly bid all his allies to a certain festival which he was to make, which was to last a month; and would bring thither all the great burgesses, chief magistrates, and merchants of all the cities of England, and would hold there open court; and afterwards, when they were all come, would cause them to be apprehended by his people and his allies, and would then impose such subsidies, tallages, and imposts [1] as he should please.' And then said the

A. D. 1399. Henry circulates seditious letters.

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he was put aside for his personal deformities. Hardyng goes on to state, that this story of his personal defects was then disproved, and the fact of Edward's seniority established at a council held at Westminster; but he admits that he received the whole story from the Earl of Northumberland. (Chronicle, 355, 356; also Archæol. xx. 186.)

[1] The imposts formerly levied were numerous. In an old MS. formerly in the possession of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, lord of the manor of Bampton, Oxon, (1677,) I find the following list of imposts, from which the hamlet of Shifford, in the parish of Bampton, was exempt: 'Thelonio, passagio, stallagio, tollagio, cariagio et terragio per totum regnum.' (Dr. Plot, Hist. of Oxon.) Tallages were tolls and duties paid to the King from the inhabitants of towns in return

A. D. 1399. Duke in his letters: 'Wherefore, my friends and good people, when the aforesaid matters came to my knowledge, I came over, as soon as I could, to inform, succour, and comfort you to the utmost of my power; for I am one of the nearest to the crown of England, and am beholden to love and support the realm as much, or more than any man alive, for thus have my predecessors done. And so, my friends, may God preserve you! Be well advised, and ponder well that which I write to you. Your good and faithful friend, Henry of Lancaster.'

Henry's letters read to the people by the mayors.

Item, when the aforesaid letters were delivered in the towns and to the common people of the good cities of the realm of England, the chief magistrates of the cities assembled the people and caused the letters to be read to them; which so stirred them up against King Richard, who knew nothing of the aforesaid allegations, that they all cried out unanimously, 'Cursed be Richard King of England, let him be deposed and imprisoned! and long live the good Duke Henry of Lancaster, let us have him for our lord and governor!' After these letters were read, none durst scarcely mention King Richard's name, and his officers and servants were put to death wherever they could be found.

Henry sends a second circular to the nobles.

The Duke of Lancaster wrote also another letter, which he sent to the nobility, stating that King Richard had corresponded and made a treaty with the King of France, and with the great lords of his realm, to restore and deliver to the King, and to those to whom they belonged, all the cities, fortresses, and castles which are in the kingdom of France, in Guyenne, in Gascony, and elsewhere, for a certain

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for his protection, as hydage was a payment from the soccage vassals in return for various services which, as agricultural tenants, they were bound to render him. (Prof. Smyth, Lectures on Hist.)

sum of money which he was to receive in ten years by annual instalments. When the lords had seen and pondered over the letters, they believed them the more readily, for they remembered that he had already given back Brest and Cherbourg; and this is one of the reasons why all the nobility left and abandoned King Richard all at once. For as soon as the intelligence of the letters was spread through the realm of England, and it was known that Henry of Lancaster had arrived to make the facts known, and to defend the realm from the evils which might ensue; there was no good mother's son who did not go to the Duke and offer him both his services and his goods; and in less than six days he had so great a number of people, both of nobles and others, that they were innumerable, and he was obliged to dismiss the greater part, for his people could not find them means of subsistence:[1] and, for certain, if it had not been for the crafty stratagem of the aforesaid forged letters, falsely fabricated against good King Richard, the Duke of Lancaster had never been received in England as king, nor as lord, nor have been emboldened to advance upon London.

A. D. 1399. Henry's circular to the nobility.

Item. When the Duke of York, the Lieutenant, and Sir William Scrop, Treasurer, heard the news of the Duke of Lancaster's arrival in England, they made an order on the part of the King and his Lieutenant, and caused it to be proclaimed in London, that every one who would serve the King should be ready to accompany the Duke the morrow whither he would think proper to go; and the morrow there passed the bridge full three thousand horsemen.

The Duke of York raises a force.

It is true that the Duke of York and the Marquis sought the Duke on the west coast of the country,

[1] Walsingham states that Henry soon collected sixty thousand fighting men.

A. D. 1399. intending to prevent his landing, but he was on the north coast in his castle of Pomfret. And when the Duke of York, and the Marquis of Dorset, and the Treasurer of England had been three days out of town, they returned to London;[1] and, after dinner, they issued a proclamation on the part of the King, that every one who would serve the King should proceed, well equipped, on the morrow, to the review at St. Albans, and that each horseman should be paid twenty-four English pence per day, and each archer twelve-pence;[2] and there were assembled sixty thousand archers and many thousand lancers.

The Duke of York's army at St. Albans, 7th July.

[1] All the patents of the Duke of York as custos, from June 18th to July 5th inclusive, are dated from Westminster. His following progress is as follows:

July 7th. St. Albans.
„ 8th. Ditto.
„ 10th. Westminster.
„ 12th. St. Albans.
„ 13th. Westminster and Aylesbury.
„ 16th. Oxford.
„ 18th. Ditto.
„ 20th. Wallingford.
„ 27th. Ditto.
„ 28th. Ditto.
Aug. 4th. Ditto.
(Pat. Rolls, 23 Ric. II.)

[2] On the news of Henry's arrival, the Duke of York called a council at St. Albans, of the Chancellor (Edward Stafford, Bishop of Chichester), the Lord Treasurer Scrop, and the Lords Commissioners. On the 8th of July the Duke of York ordered horses to be taken up for the army; and on the 18th he ordered the arrest of malefactors who had congregated in Kent, Surrey, and Middlesex. (Rot. Pat. 23 Ric. II.)

At St. Albans the valiant Bishop of Norwich came to the Duke of York's assistance with a strong body of warriors. (Carte, ii. 632.) The wages named in the text appear excessive, and were given, probably, owing to the urgency of the occasion.

In the 20th of Richard the following wages were allowed to 'our beloved clerk Roger Walden (Chancellor of England), for the custody of the castle and city of Porchester:—For one doorkeeper, one artilleryman, and one guard, eight-pence per day during peace, and twelve-pence during war; viz. for the wages of the doorkeeper, and one lad (or bachelor, 'garcio') under him, fourpence-halfpenny per day; for one artilleryman, six-pence per day; and for the wages of the said guard, three-pence per day. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. p. 2, 1st Feb.)

In 1401 the men-at-arms, probably horsemen, sent with dispatch to Harlech castle to remove the besiegers, received twelve-pence per day, and the archers six-pence per day. (Pell of Issue Rolls, Dec. 14, 1401.) It may be interesting to mention the wages given to some of the esquires who fought at the battle of Azencourt. Guillaume Brandon, esquire, gives a quittance to Mark Heron, war-treasurer to the Duke of Bourbon in 1415, eight days

The army marched straight to Wallingford, where the Queen held her court; and the Treasurer caused the castle to be fortified, and left a guard for the Queen and the castle, and marched straight towards Oxford. From thence they marched to Bristol, thinking to enter the city and castle before the Duke of Lancaster should arrive thither; but the Governor of the castle would not admit the Treasurer, saying that he held the castle on behalf of the Duke of Lancaster, and for his service. Sir William Scrop,[1] Treasurer, Sir John Bussy, Sir Thomas Green, and Sir William

A. D. 1399. At Wallingford. At Oxford, 16th July; and at Bristol.

before the battle of Azencourt, (where Brandon was killed or taken prisoner,) for the sum of one hundred and ninety-five (neuf vingt quinze) livres tournois, or one hundred and eighty-five francs, for the payment of twelve esquires of Brandon. They were allowed rather more than fifteen francs each for all the burthen of the campaign, and were to go in the 'Pays de Caulx' (Normandy), or otherwise where it would please the King to order them, under the command of the Duke of Bourbon. (MS. 5687. Bibl. Leber. Rouen.) The fifteen francs would be worth, probably, two hundred and fifty or three hundred francs of the present day.

Gunpowder, though not then much used, was invented and known; for Sir Thomas Norbury was ordered to buy and send gunpowder to Brest in 1377. (Rymer, Fœdera.)

[1] Richard appears to have lavished his favours upon his personal friends with an unsparing hand, and not to have been particularly happy in the selection of his favourites. Dugdale remarks (after Walsingham), that this William le Scrop was of a very malevolent and wicked disposition. (Baronage, i. 661; which work the reader may consult for an account of his appointments.) He married Isabella, cousin of King Henry IV., who granted her one hundred pounds the first year of his reign, she being then a widow. (Pell of Issue Rolls, Michs. Term, 1 Hen. IV.) Dugdale states that William le Scrop was a younger son to Henry Lord Scrop of Masham (Baronage), who died 15 Rich. II.; but I think he must be herein mistaken, as in the 1st of Henry IV., when there was a question of confiscating the lands of the said William le Scrop, Richard le Scrop rose, and protested, with many tears, that he had not been privy to his son's proceedings; upon which he received Henry's pardon. (Rot. Parl. iii. 453.)

Richard Lord Scrop (of Bolton) had been appointed Chancellor, 2 Ric. II.; and, upon his deprivation, became Steward of the Household. Dugdale says he had three sons, Roger, Stephen, and Richard Archbishop of York. (Baronage.) Several of Richard le Scrop's letters are preserved in the Tower. It is to be remarked that the Earl of Wiltshire is always called by our chronicler, as he is also in

A.D. 1399.

The Lords Commissioners hold the town-hall for the King.

Bagot, between them, went and took possession of the city and the council-chamber, for they could not gain admission into the castle; and the Duke of York and the Marquis kept the field with all their people.

The Duke of York goes over to Henry.

But the Lieutenant sent to the Duke of Lancaster to say that he had come there to assist him to recover his rightful inheritance, and that it was not by his advice that he had been banished. The Duke of Lancaster returned him word, 'Good uncle, you are right welcome and all your people.' When the Duke of Lancaster, and his uncle the Duke of York, the Lieutenant, had made their peace together, then came the Marquis, brother of the Duke of Lancaster,[1] to make his peace with his brother.

He is joined by the Marquis of Dorset.

The Earl of Northumberland and Sir Henry Percy would have had the Marquis put to death or hung; but the Duke of Lancaster pulled out a letter from his pouch of blue velvet, and said, 'I beseech you do him no harm, for he is my brother, and has always been my friend; see the letter he sent to me in France!' The Duke and the Marquis then embraced each other.

After the Duke and his brother were friends, it was agreed that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Arundel should lead the van-guard, which was twenty thousand fighting men strong, and encamp before Bristol. The Duke of Lancaster had in his company full four thousand archers. And, upon the van-guard showing itself before Bristol, the city surrendered immediately, and the castle also: and in it were taken Sir William Scrop, Sir John Bussy, and Sir Thomas

Surrender of Bristol.

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the Rolls of Parliament, William le Scrop, long after he received his earldom.

[1] John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset and Somerset, was the eldest son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford. He was connected by marriage with Richard, his wife being Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent. He was then the only Marquis in England; Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin, having been banished.

Green. Sir William Bagot escaped, and was not taken at that time, but he was captured afterwards.[1] It is true that, after they were taken, the Duke caused them to be beheaded, and sent their heads in a white basket to London, with a letter which was read before all the commonalty of London, of which this is the beginning. 'I, Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford and Earl Derby, commend myself to all the people of London, high and low. My good friends, I send you my salutations, and I acquaint you that I have come over to take my rightful inheritance. I beg of you to let me know if you will be on my side, or not; and I care not which, for I have people enough to fight all the world for one day, thank God![2] But take in good part the present I send you.' When the Londoners had heard this letter read, they cried out unanimously, 'Our lives, our possessions, and all we have are at his service.'

A. D. 1399.

[1] Scrop, Bussy, and Green tried 29th July, (Rot. Parl. iii. 657,) and beheaded.

Henry's letter to the men of London.

[1] Sir John Russell was taken at the same time, but escaped by feigning madness. He had long had the care of the King's horses.

Sir William Bagot also escaped to Ireland; but was afterwards taken, and brought to Newgate. (Peter de Ickham.)

In the preceding year Richard had given Sir William Bagot the manor of Chaylesmore, county of Warwick, (Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. 3rd July,) and an annuity of sixty pounds per annum for life; forty pounds of which were to be received from the bailiff of his fee-farm in the city of Coventry, and twenty pounds from the officer appointed to receive the aulnage on the woollen cloth for the time being (ulneatorius) of the same city. (Gascon Rolls, 22 Ric. II. 20th Sept.) We find Sir W. Bagot confined in the Tower in April 1400; but, as Sir John Littelbury and seven others became bail for him in the penalty of a thousand pounds, Henry gave him permission to take exercise within the bounds of the Tower without his chains. (Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV. 5th April.) Sir W. le Scrop and his associates were tried and condemned in the Constable and Marshal's court. On the 7th of July they had been appointed, by the Duke of York, Governors of Rochester and Ledes castles. (Rot. Pat.)

[2] Henry was certainly not wanting in confidence in his own powers, and was gifted with indomitable perseverance. After learning the rebellion of Henry Percy in July 1403, he wrote to his council, and assured them, 'for their consolation,' 'that we are powerful enough to encounter all the enemies of ourselves and our kingdoms, thank God!' (Minutes of Council, i. 208.)

A. D. 1399. King Richard hears of Henry's arrival.

It is true that, as soon as the horseman that my Lord William Scrop had despatched to King Richard to inform him of the arrival of the Duke of Lancaster in England had delivered his letters, and the King had ascertained with astonishment that the tidings were true, he was very wroth and much agitated, and uttered these words: 'Ha! good uncle of Lancaster, God have mercy upon your soul; for, if I had believed him to have been such a man, he should never have angered me now; and you told me truly that I did wrong to pardon him so often, and yet he offends me again. Three times have I pardoned his offences against me; and lo! this is the fourth time that he has roused my wrath.' The King said no more at that time, but returned with his army to England as soon as he could. And King Richard arrived in England, he and all his army, at a port where there is a castle and town, which is called Pembroke;[1] and the King went to the castle to

Richard leaves Ireland, and arrives at Pembroke 13th August (see p. 194).

[1] Creton remarks in his letter to King Richard, that he wonders why the gods of the sea should have sent him a wind to land at Appleford (which in his poem he calls Milford), and that it would have been better for him to have landed in some other region. (MS. of Eustace Deschamps.) Creton however was not with Richard, having left Ireland with the Earl of Salisbury some weeks before; and it appears questionable whether the author of our Chronicle accompanied Richard to Ireland, as he has not given any details of Irish manners. The Monk of Evesham states that Richard landed near Hertlow (Harlech, in North Wales, I presume), about the feast of St James the Apostle (July 25th). Probably he intended to join the Earl of Salisbury near Conway, but was carried by the north wind past Bardsey, and made the land between Pwllelly and Harlech. Supposing he went thence to Beaumaris, called in the text Bellicardit, the distance would correspond with that given, about thirty miles; and, from Bangor, Conway 'is not far distant.' There, as the Earl of Huntingdon remarked, he would have been secure, and could have put to sea when he pleased. Richard, when at Pembroke, proposed to send his brother to Henry on the morrow, and according to the text he sent him on the morrow from Conway; which, considering the country to be passed over, would have been impossible if he really landed at Pembroke. Otterbourne, a contemporary historian, records his wandering about Anglesey, to Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Conway, and Flint, and he is supported by an ancient

lodge, and remained there two days, he and his army, A. D. 1399. to refresh themselves, and to make their arrangements. And in the course of these two days the lords who had returned with him received intelligence of the Duke of Lancaster's letters, and of the cause of his arrival in England, and, in consequence, they held a consultation by night; and then departed, they and their people, without taking leave of the King, and made their way towards the Duke. And, for certain, when King Richard returned into England from Ireland, he had with him full thirty-two thousand men; of which thirty-two thousand there were not more

Desertion of many of the lords,

and of the greater part of the army.

Latin MS. No. 1989, of the Harleian Collection, fol. 382, which is professedly an account of the antiquities of Chester. This MS. supplies also some facts creditable to his Cheshire friends, not generally known. In the same year (1399), about the feast of St. Peter (August 1st), King Richard who was in Ireland, hearing of the insurrection of the aforesaid Duke (Lancaster), brought about by treason, was some time kept in inaction by unsound advice, whilst his adversary was raising the whole kingdom against him; at length he crossed, and came to Carmarthen in Wales, where, his army being scattered, but few remained with him. However, the King had still seven valiant and noble esquires of the county of Chester, who, with about eighty chosen people of the country, were deputed to keep constant watch over the King for his greater security. These indeed bore the royal cognizance on a staff, a white hart 'resurgentem.' But an evil report of his extortions from the people was spread by the English, for which cause the innocent King fell undeservedly into the deadly hatred of his own commons. When the King heard of the immense army of the Duke, and that all the world was gone after him, he left his companions in the middle of the night, taking with him only fifteen servants, and departed to the castles of Hardleigh, of Caernarvon, of Beaumaris, and of Conway; and among these he wandered, now in one, now in another, rising early in the morning.—(Henry VI. granted the castles of Crakyth and Hardelagh to the Prince of Wales. Lansdown MS. 1, n. 25. Is it not Crakyth [Creicieth] that the Chroniclers have mistaken for Carmarthen?) The King's seneschal, finding that the King had fled from them, broke his rod and deceitfully recommended that each should do the best he could for himself; and thus they were all scattered and spoiled by the Welch, and with difficulty regained their homes. See Appendix C.

Walsingham, in opposition to this account, states that Sir Thomas Percy broke his rod and dismissed Richard's followers by the King's desire, who added, that they were to reserve themselves for better times; but Walsingham has shewn himself to be a partisan of the Lancastrian party.

A. D. 1399. Month of August.

than six thousand who did not desert that night, and, of those who remained, the greater part were foreigners and foreign soldiers.[1] In the morning, when the King had risen and was about to say his orisons, as he was accustomed, he leaned upon a window, and looked out upon the fields where his army was encamped; and, when he only saw such a few people, he was quite dismayed; and in the meanwhile, as he was marvelling and talking to Maudeleyn,[2] there came to him his brother the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Earl of Salisbury, accompanied by four other knights; and the King said to them, 'What news?' To which they replied, 'Dear Sire, we do not know, except that we are all quite astonished that the army has deserted thus suddenly.' 'Is there any cause for it?' said the King. To which the Earl of Salisbury replied, that his esquire *tranchant*[3] had told him the evening before that the Earl of Westmoreland was reading that evening a letter which he had received from Henry of Lancaster. Then the King ordered the esquire to be sent for; and, when he was come, the King asked him if

The King's brother and the Earl of Salisbury acquaint Richard with the desertion of the army.

[1] Mr. Webb doubts that Richard had any mercenaries in his army (Archæol. xx. 104, note *r*); but the following entry in the Patent Rolls is decisive. Richard gave letters of protection to 'William of Juliers, Duke of Berg (Montensis) and Count of Ravensberg,' to serve him during his life with a certain number of men-at-arms, for which he was to pay him one thousand pounds annually: Westminster, 29th April, 1399. (22 Ric. II. Rot. Pat.) Berg had been erected into a duchy by the Emperor Wenceslaus in 1380. William II. Duke of Berg is praised by his contemporaries for his bravery and his justice. He had been taken prisoner by the Count of Cleves in 1397, and was then advanced in years. (Art de ver. les Dates.) I think it probable that William of Juliers, Duke of Guelders, (eldest son of the Duke of Juliers,) was also with Richard. He had done homage to Richard in 1388. (Rot. Franc. 12 Ric. II. 9th Oct.) A petition from him to Richard is preserved in the Tower.

[2] Richard Maudeleyn, clerk, received letters of protection from the Duke of York, 20 April 1399. (Rot. Franc. 22 Ric. II.) He is supposed to have been a natural son of Richard.

[3] The esquire tranchant not only tasted and carved his lord's meat, but carried his banner immediately behind his person in war. (Instructions et Ordonnances de Guerre.)

he had seen the letters, and if he knew anything about them? The esquire bent the knee before King Richard, and replied, that he had indeed seen a letter in the Earl of Westmoreland's hand, but of its contents he knew nothing. Then said the King to his brother and the other lords, 'Let us hear mass here, and then we will dine together, and talk of this matter after dinner;' which they accordingly did. As soon as the King and the lords in company had dined, they retired into a council-chamber; when the King said, 'I know that I am betrayed by that bad man; for God's sake! give your advice what is best to be done.' Then spoke the Earl of Salisbury: 'My lord, in truth, this man, as I have already heard, has already stirred up the people against you by lying tales and artful words. You already see, and it is manifest, that four parts of your people have left you in a single night, and those the most considerable. It appears to me that it will be best,—subject to the decision of your good council,— that as we are but few in number, and cannot even answer that those who are now with us will remain, that on the approach of night we take four or five hundred horsemen (*lances*) of the best and the most bound to us of those that remain, and that we put to sea, seeing your navy is ready to go where you please, and that we go straight to Bordeaux; there shall we be well received, and shall have aid, if it be needful, from France, from Brittany, and from Gascony: for it is better to withdraw a little from an enemy, than to put one's self in his power.' Then replied the Earl of Huntingdon, 'By St. George! if my lord will be ruled by me, he will go, when it shall be night, to Bellincardic,[1] and thence to the

A. D. 1399.

Consultation of the King and his adherents.

The Earl of Salisbury advises to go to Bordeaux.

[1] The situation of Beaumaris agrees so well with the description of the castle called Bellincardic, that there can be but little doubt that is the place intended.

A. D. 1399.

The Duke of Exeter counsels to go to Conway.

strong castle of Conway; there he will be in security, and in his own possessions.' 'So should we be,' said the King, 'at Bordeaux.' 'True,' said the Earl his brother; 'but, if you go to Bordeaux, everybody will say that you have fled without having been pursued, and that you must have known that you had been guilty of some crime, or you would not have gone away: and, when once you are at Bellincardic castle, you will be secure against all the world; for, in spite of Henry of Lancaster and all his friends, at all times, at any time you please, you can put to sea and go whithersoever you choose, and, perhaps, whilst you are at the castle, you may come to some understanding.' Upon which the King said, 'You advise well, we will do so; and you shall go yourself to-morrow to Henry of Lancaster, to learn his wishes.'[1] The Bishop of Carlisle, Salisbury, Fereiby, Janico, and Maudeleyn were of accord that it would be better to go to Bordeaux, but it pleased the King to listen to his brother. Then all left the chamber and separated, each to his lodging, to make ready secretly for setting off in the evening. When it was night, the King, with his brother the Earl of Salisbury, and about one hundred horsemen, set out secretly from Pembroke, and went away to Bellincardic, which was full thirty miles distant.[2]

The King leaves Pembroke by night with 100 horsemen.

When the morning arrived, those of the King's army who had remained were all dismayed and discouraged when they learnt that the King had gone away, especially the foreigners, for they knew not

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[1] The Duke of Surrey was joined with the Earl of Huntingdon (then Duke of Exeter) in the embassy to Henry. (Creton.)

[2] That the King, at the commencement of his wanderings in Wales, was escorted by a guard of about one hundred men, is also stated by the Harleian MS. No. 1989, before quoted. From these he appears to have unadvisedly fled away secretly by night, so great were his fears.

what to do; so they all broke up, and began to think of departing, some this way and some that: and the foreigners were much to be pitied, as also those who were known to belong to King Richard; for the Duke of Lancaster's people robbed them wherever they could find them, and took from them all they had of any value. And when the King arrived at Bellincardic, he proceeded immediately to Conway, which was not far distant, and sent his brother with a message to Henry of Lancaster. Then the Earl of Huntingdon mounted his horse, and set out with eleven (*horsemen*) to go to the Duke, whom he found at seven leagues' distance. When he approached the Duke, he kneeled, made him great obeisance, and said, 'My lord, you are welcome home.' The Duke of Lancaster said to him, 'Rise up; I have not been accustomed to receive such honour from you.' 'My lord,' said the Earl, 'it is but reasonable that I should show you respect, for your father was the King's son, and, moreover, my wife is your sister, wherefore I am bound to do so.' Upon which Henry of Lancaster said, 'Well, rise, brother-in-law, you are welcome; but you have not always acted thus. How is my lord the King?' 'He is quite well, thank God! and salutes you by me.' Then the Duke took the Earl (*aside*), and they conversed together a long time. What they said I know not;[1] but at parting the Duke said to the Earl, 'You will not return to my lord the King until I have tidings from the Earl of Northumberland, whom I have sent to him to effect a reconciliation between us.' 'My lord,' said the Earl, 'I did not meet him.' 'Because,' said the Duke, 'he did not take the road by which you came.' And know, that

A. D. 1399.

The remains of the army and the mercenaries disperse.

Richard goes to Conway, and sends the Duke of Exeter to Henry.

[1] From this remark, Monsieur Gaillard thinks the author's presence at Chester may be fairly inferred. (Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi, i. 391.)

A. D. 1399. Henry detains the Duke of Exeter, and takes from him Richard's cognizance.

shortly afterwards the Duke Henry of Lancaster gave his cognizance to the Earl, and took from him, and from all those who were with him, the order of King Richard.[1] When the Duke of Exeter, Earl of Huntingdon, parted with King Richard's cognizance, he began to weep, and remained a long while without uttering a word. At length the Earl of Rutland, who was there, said to him, 'Good cousin, do not vex yourself; for, please God, things will go well.' Now the Earl of Rutland, whom King Richard had created Duke of Albemarle and Constable of England, both he and Sir Thomas Percy, Grand Master of King Richard's Household, had deserted from the port of Milford, in which port the King and his army arrived on leaving Ireland, the thirteenth day of August thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen,[2] without having taken leave of the King or of the other lords, and went over to the Duke; and they said to those of the

[1] It need scarcely be remarked that all Henry's acts prove a predetermination to seize the crown, notwithstanding all his protestations to the contrary. Richard's badges or cognizances were the white hart kneeling, collared and chained, Or; the sun in splendour; the pod of the planta-genistæ, or broom; and branches of rosemary. See List of Isabel's jewels, page 110. The white falcon is also attributed to him; but I strongly suspect that this was Isabel's device. (Willement's Regal Heraldry, pages 20, 23.)

Richard has been censured for distributing his cognizances so generally, as he thereby practically confessed the weakness of his party. The multiplication of badges had been felt to be a nuisance. In the 13th of Richard the commons petitioned that no signs of the lords should be given to any valet or archer, if he were not a menial dwelling with his lord in his house for a whole year. The King promised to discuss it with his council. (Rot. Parl. iii. 265.)

The white hart still remains, painted of a colossal size, on the wall over the door leading to the east cloister from the south aisle of Westminster Abbey; and Westminster Hall presents a profusion of them. 'Then were the royal badges, as well the white harts as the crowns, put in a secret place by one worthy of trust; for the esquires of the Duke of Lancaster, imposing his cognizances, like beasts (*i. e.* ferrets) sent to destroy the pride of a rabbit-warren, the white harts of certain favourers of Richard were sealed up for one year.' (MS. Harl. 1989.)

[2] Some accounts state that Richard left Dublin on the 26th of July; the Harl. MS. 1989,

King's army, 'My lads, do the best you can for yourselves; the King has gone away without leaving any orders; get away each of you as well as you can:' and then they went over to the Duke to make their peace. A. D. 1399.

Item. The same day that the Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter, went to seek the Duke, he found him lodging in his own city of Chester, with his army. And that same day, which was Sunday the twentieth day of August,[1] the year aforesaid, the Duke sent to King Richard the Earl of Northumberland,[2] who was aged, that the King might the rather believe his words, and not be so overbearing with him as with a younger person; and the said Earl had with him a company of one hundred lancers and two hundred archers. And know that, as soon as the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Huntingdon had spoken together, the Earl of Huntingdon sent one of his people, by the command of the Duke, to the Earl of Northumberland, and gave him two letters, one of which he was to take to the King from his brother, requesting him to believe the message he should

Henry at Chester.

He sends the Earl of Northumberland to King Richard.

about the 1st of August. Both these dates appear too early. It was the 6th or 7th of July when the Duke of York first heard of Henry's arrival, and began to collect a force at St. Albans. A courier could scarcely have arrived at Dublin before the 16th of July, if so soon; and we know that Richard tarried there eighteen days after his arrival. (Creton.) He would thus not have left Dublin till the end of the first week in August, and the passage would occupy several days. I see no reason to doubt the correctness of the date in the text; but, as before mentioned, the place of debarkation is a matter of more uncertainty.

[1] The Sunday was the *seventeenth* day of August. The Earl may have received his instructions on the Sunday, but he does not appear to have reached Conway till the Monday, as, after he had captured Richard, he proceeded the *same night* to inform Henry, who went to meet Richard the next morning, Tuesday.

[2] Mr. Webb objects to the correctness of our narrative, that, according to Creton, the resolution to send the Earl of Northumberland was not *yet* adopted. All that I gather from Creton's account is, that the resolution to send that nobleman was taken in council at Chester, which agrees with the text. But, supposing that it were not so, Creton was not with the Duke of Lancaster, but at Conway castle with Richard; how, then, should he know the precise time that the mission of the Earl was agreed upon?

A. D. 1399. deliver to him, and the other to the Earl of Northumberland.

Northumberland leaves his men in ambush,

It is a truth that the Earl of Northumberland went to King Richard with (*only*) seven attendants, for he had left his people in ambush between two mountains, and had commanded them that they should not stir till they had tidings from him, or of the King, whom they much longed to hold. And when the said Earl went towards the King, he found him in an exceedingly strong castle, surrounded on all sides by the sea, which is called Conway;[1] and thither he went, with all submission, he and his seven attendants, and saluted the King very humbly, as did his attendants.[2] The King had with him not more than five or six notable persons; that is to say, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Stephen Scrop, Sir Fereiby,[3] the son of the old Countess of Salisbury,[4] and a Gascon Esquire.[5]

and arrives at Conway castle, Monday, 18th August.

[1] Richard's faithful allies, William ap Tudor and his brother Rees, set fire to the town and castle of Conway in 1400. (Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV. p. 3. m. 24.) The garrison of the castle only consisted of 15 men-at-arms and 60 archers. (Ellis' Original Letters.)

[2] Or, 'and saluted the King and his attendants very humbly.'

[3] William Fereiby, Fereby, or Firebye. Fabyan calls him and Sir John Maudeley (Maudeleyn) knights and clerks. (Edn. Ellis, p. 542.) Holinshed calls him Sir Nicholas Ferebie. (Original edit.) The secular clergy were frequently called upon to arm, and were allowed to disguise themselves as warriors. Sir W. Fereiby was a devoted follower of Richard, was chosen by him as an executor to his will, and was amongst the number of those who rose in his favour in January 1400, and was executed with Maudeleyn, according to Walsingham; yet I find a Maistre William Fereiby chancellor to the Prince of Wales in July 1403. (Minutes of Council, i. 206.) He was probably a son of the party here mentioned. A William of Ferby was one of the public notaries at Richard's resignation. (Walsingham.)

[4] Our author appears to have erred here, as Dugdale states that the only son of Margaret Dowager Countess of Salisbury had been slain in a tournament at Windsor in the lifetime of his father. Mr. Webb conjectures that a son of the then Countess of Salisbury by a former husband, Sir Alan Buxull or Boxhull, K. G., is intended. The young Sir Alan was then about eighteen years old. (See Archæol. xx. 152.) Holinshed (possibly following our chronicle) speaks

[5] See note [5], p. 197.

When the King perceived the said Earl, he caused him to rise, and asked him, 'What news?' Then said the Earl, 'My dear Sire, I am sent to you by your cousin Henry of Lancaster.' The King asked him if he had not met his brother, whom he had sent there. 'Yes, dear Sire; and here is a letter he gave me (for you).' The King took the letter and looked at the seal, and saw that it was the seal of his brother; then he opened the letter, and read it. All that it contained was this: 'My very dear lord; I commend me to you. I hope you will believe the Earl in every thing that he shall say to you. For I found the Duke of Lancaster at my city of Chester, who has a great desire to have a good peace and agreement with you; and has kept me to attend upon him till he shall know your pleasure.' When the King had read the letter, he said to the Earl of Northumberland, 'Now then, Northumberland, what is your message?' 'My dear Sire,' said the Earl, 'my lord of Lancaster has sent me to you to tell you that what he most wishes for in this world is to have peace and a good understanding with you, and greatly repents with all his heart of the displeasure he hath caused you now and at other times, and asks nothing of you in this living world save that you would consider him as your cousin and friend, and that you would please only to let him have his land, and that he may be Seneschal[1] (*grant*

A. D. 1399.

He delivers a forged letter to Richard.

Northumberland's message.

of a son of the Countess of Salisbury, and I think the party intended is Johannes de Montagu, miles, who with others obtained a safe-conduct for Ireland, April 1399. (Fœdera.) Whoever the party was, he appears to have been knighted by Richard in Ireland. (Creton.)

[5] Janico Dartasse, or d'Artoys, esq. He is so called in the letters of attorney granted to him on his going to Ireland, March 8th, 1399. (Rot. Franc.) Our chronicler records afterwards a trait highly honourable to Dartasse, his refusal to lay aside the badge or cognizance of his master; which Holinshed has repeated after him. Notwithstanding, Henry continued to patronise him. He was a captain of great reputation, and apparently of great merit. For a further notice of him, the reader is referred to Archæol. xx. 92.

[1] Mr. Webb informs us that

A. D. 1399. 18th August. *juge*) of England as his father and his predecessors have been, and that all other things of bygone time may be put in oblivion between you two: for which purpose he hath chosen umpires for yourself and for him; that is to say, your brother, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, Maudeleyn, and the Earl of Westmoreland; and charges these five with (*the arrangement of*) the differences that are between you and him. Give me, if you please, an answer; for all the great lords of England, and the commons, are of this opinion.' On which the King said, 'Withdraw a little, and you shall shortly have an answer.' Then the King, with the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Stephen Scrop, Fereiby, and the Gascon Squire, withdrew into the chapel of the castle; and the King said to them, 'My lords, you have heard what the Earl says; what think you of it?' To which they replied, 'My lord, do you speak first.' The King answered, 'It seems to me that a good peace would be made between us two, if it be as the Earl says; but, in truth, whatever agreement or peace he may make with me, if I can ever get him into my power, I will cause him to be foully put to death, just as he hath deserved.' The Bishop of Carlisle said, 'My lord, peace is desirable; but it appears to me that it will be well that you should make the Earl of Northumberland swear upon the holy Gospels, and on the body of our Lord, that what he has said is true.' The Earl of Salisbury and the others said, 'It is well spoken.' The King then said, 'Tell Northumberland to come in.' Upon which came in the said Earl, who can only be likened to

Consultation of the King and his friends at Conway.

Henry had not waited for Richard's sanction, but that he had already assumed the title, and exercised the functions, of the Seneschal upon his own authority.

On the 10th of August (two days after his arrival at Chester) he had granted a safe-conduct to Henry the Prior of Beauval, in which he styles himself 'Seneschal d'Angleterre.' (Madox, Formulare Anglicanum, 327, as quoted by Mr. Webb, Archæol. xx. 134.)

Judas or to Guenelon,[1] for he falsely perjured himself on the body of our Lord in every thing which he said. When he was in the presence, the King said to him as follows: 'Northumberland, if you will assure us by your loyal oath, and swear upon the sacred body of our Lord, that what you have told us from our cousin of Lancaster is true, we will believe you, and will go and lodge at Flint; and there our good cousin of Lancaster can come and speak to us.' Then said the Earl, who was old and venerable, 'Dear Sire, I am quite ready to make what oath you wish.' Upon which the King commanded that they should chant the mass, for it was still early; which he heard with much devotion, as well as all his companions, for he was a true catholic. When mass had been chanted, he caused the Earl of Northumberland to come forward, who placed his hand upon the body of our Lord which was upon the altar, in the presence of the King and of the lords, and swore that all that he had said to the King from Henry of Lancaster was true; in which he perjured himself wickedly and falsely. After the oath had been taken, the King and those present went to dinner, and the King ordered that every one should get ready to set out to go to Flint after dinner. When dinner was over, the King said to the Earl, 'Northumberland, for God's sake be sure you consider well what you have sworn, for it will be to your damnation if it be untrue.' The Earl replied, 'Dear Sire, if you find it untrue, treat me as you ought to do a traitor.' 'Well then,' said the King, 'we will go to Flint, trusting in God and in our opinion of your honesty.' 'Dear Sire,' said the Earl, 'I will go forward to order your supper, and will

A. D. 1399. 18th August.

Northumberland makes oath upon the Sacrament.

[1] Guenelon, a notorious traitor, who was torn in pieces at Aix-la-Chapelle by order of Charlemagne. (See Archæol. xx. 120.) *MS.* 10212 ^{3b}, reads, 'who betrayed the twelve fathers (notable men) of France.'

A. D. 1399. 18th August.

tell to my lord the Duke what I have done.[1] The King replied, 'Go:' and the false Earl said, on setting out, 'Dear Sire, make haste, for it is already two o'clock or thereabouts.' The Earl then left with his seven attendants, as he had arrived, and rode to the mountain where he had left his men in ambush; who all made very merry, for he said to them, 'We shall very soon have what we are looking for.' King Richard, who was ignorant of all the villany and treason which the said Earl had concocted, mounted to horse with all his company, who were only twelve in all,[2] and rode as far as the mountain. And, as he and his companions were going down the mountain, they perceived the people of the Earl of Northumberland, who were in the valley, and who were all armed; and he said to the Earl of Salisbury, 'Do you not see below banners and streamers?' The Earl of Salisbury replied, 'Certainly, Sire, I do; and my heart forebodes ill.' 'Certes,' said the Bishop of Carlisle, 'I strongly suspect that man has betrayed you.' He had no sooner uttered these words than he saw the said Earl, who came to meet them with eleven others. Now the King and his companions were afoot, on account of the mountain, which was too steep to ride down. When the Earl met the King, he said, 'My lord, I am glad you are come, I am come to meet you.' The King, who had already descended nearly the greatest part of the mountain, then mounted his horse, and said to the Earl of Northumberland, 'What people are those who are below in the valley?'

King Richard, confiding in Northumberland, leaves Conway.

He perceives Northumberland's men in ambush.

[1] Mr. Webb objects to the consistency of this chronicle, that Richard is represented to have dined before setting out; whereas, according to Creton, he dined at Rhudlan. There is no doubt that Northumberland and his men dined at Rhudlan, and very possibly Richard and his friends were invited to eat with them; but I submit there is no proof that *they* did not have their usual dinner before setting out.

[2] *MS.* 10212 [3 b], gives the number of twenty-two companions to Richard; but this is so late a MS. that it cannot be depended upon.

The Earl replied, 'My lord, I do not know; I have seen none.' 'Look before you then,' said the Earl of Salisbury; 'there they are.' 'By St. John!' said the Bishop of Carlisle, 'I believe they are your men, for I distinguish your banner.' 'Northumberland,' said the King, 'if I thought you wished to betray me, I would return to Conway.' 'By St. George! my lord, replied the Earl,[1] 'you shall not return for this month to come; for I shall conduct you to my lord the Duke of Lancaster, as I have promised him.' As he spoke, Erpingham came up with all the people of the Earl, his trumpets sounding aloud. The King and his companions then saw well enough that they had been betrayed; and said the King to the Earl, 'The God upon whom you have sworn reward you and all your accomplices at the day of judgment!' Then turning to his companions, who were weeping, he said with a sigh, 'Ah! my good and faithful friends, we are all betrayed, and given without cause into the hands of our enemies; for God's sake have patience, and call to mind our Saviour, who was undeservedly sold and given into the hands of his enemies.' 'Dear Sire,' said the good Earl of Salisbury, 'we will patiently submit to our lot with you, since it is the will of God.' So discoursing, with tears and lamentations, they came to Flint, where they lodged the King and his companions in the castle; and the Earl and Erpingham set a strong guard over them: which done, the Earl immediately took five horsemen, and rode to Chester to relate to the Duke of Lancaster how he had captured the King and conducted him to Flint.[2] Now from Flint to Chester there are but six short leagues.

A. D. 1399.

King Richard is betrayed, Monday, 18th August;

and lodged in Flint castle.

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[1] *MS. Ambass.* adds, 'and placed his hand upon the bridle of the King's horse.'

[2] It would appear from our author's narrative, as well as from that of Creton, that the events

A. D. 1399. 18th August.

The King's lamentations.

NO mortal man can recount or conceive the great distress of the King and his companions, nor their complaints, sorrows, and lamentations that night at Flint castle, expecting nothing less than to be beheaded on the morrow. And thus said the King: 'O Thou the true God who formedst the world! O blessed Virgin Mary who carriedst the blessed Fruit of Life! O my godfather, my lord St. John the Baptist! O all ye blessed Saints in Paradise! is it so that I must die, and my companions for my sake?

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just described happened on Monday, August 18th. It may be desirable, however, to notice the accounts given by our English chroniclers. Passing over that of Walsingham, which has no claim to impartiality, we find the Monk of Evesham represents Henry to have sent Arundel, late Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and Sir Henry Percy, to the King at Flint, on the Sunday next after the Assumption, (Sunday, August 17th,) with an answer to the letter sent to him by the Duke of Exeter. After a long interview, the Monk simply adds, they conducted the King with them to the strong castle of Conway, where they awaited the arrival of the Duke of Lancaster, who came on the following Tuesday. (Vita R. Ric. ed. Hearne, 154.) The improbability of this account is apparent. The Harl. MS. No. 1989, states that, owing chiefly to the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Northumberland, who swore upon Christ's body that King Richard should remain in his royal power, the King voluntarily went to the castle of Flint, relying upon this pledge; but that all their fine promises were quickly broken, and the King and his companions were led captive to Chester, and from thence to London. The well-known account of Froissart is still less entitled to credit: indeed, that interesting chronicler has not scrupled to invent a conversation between Henry and Richard, which he represents to have taken place in the Tower of London, upon the occasion of the rising of the Earl of Huntingdon in Richard's favour; but which never could have taken place, as Richard was at Pontefract, and he had either escaped or been put to death a day or two before that rising. It is worthy of particular notice that the testimony of two foreign and independent chroniclers contradict the statement in Richard's resignation, as recorded in the Rolls of Parliament, that he had promised the Archbishop of Canterbury to resign the crown at Conway in Wales, being then at liberty; and if the fact of Northumberland alone having had an interview with Richard at Conway be established, as I think it is, that document is at once branded with fabrication. (Vide Rot. Parl. iii. 416.)

A. D. 1399. 18th August. The King's lamentations.

In troth I have never transgressed in anything against the kingdom of England; why should I be thus seized? Have pity on me and my companions; and, if it be your pleasure that I must die, I beseech you to receive my soul into your holy Paradise. Ah! my dearest sister and lady, my dearest and beloved companion Isabel of France! never shall I behold you again; alas! I leave you in the hands of my enemies. Ah! dearest father, most noble King of France, I commend myself to you, and leave you your daughter, who, would to God, were now with you! Alas! she is like the lamb amongst the wolves. Alas! I had the desire when I was at Conway to go to you: now am I falsely betrayed, and there is no help for it.[1] Ah! dearest father of France, and my dear uncles, Berry and Bourgoyne, the flower of the nobility! never will this shameful deed be avenged unless it be by you.[2] Ah! dear father of France! the matter concerns you much, and more than any man living; for God's sake put a remedy to it very shortly. Ah! dear cousin of Brittany! I commend myself to you. Alas! you said truly at your departure that I should never be safe as long as Henry of Lancaster was alive. Alas! thrice have I

[1] 'Would to God,' says the Monk of St. Denys, 'that this unfortunate King had listened to the voice of the prophet who said, "The leopard may repose under the shade of the lilies." Yes, if he had taken shelter in the perfumed garden of the lilies, he would not, by his death, have reduced his august consort, that young virgin so worthy of honour, to replace the golden fleur-de-lis by garments of mourning.'

[2] Creton, writing to the Duke of Burgundy, says, 'Alas! did you but know the piteous complaints which he (Richard) made to all the royal lords of France, when he was a fugitive in Wales, but especially to you and to my Lord of St. Pol.' (Smaller MS. of Eustace Deschamps, Bibl. du Roi.)

It may be worthy of notice, that the Duke of Berry bore the swan as a cognizance as well as Henry IV. He placed a bear and a swan on many of his MSS., and it is supposed that the rebus made thereby is *our-cine*, in allusion to Orsine, the name of his Duchess. (Champollion, Vie des Ducs d'Orléans, i. 283.)

A. D. 1399. 18th August. The King's lamentations.

saved his life; for once my dear uncle of Lancaster, on whom God have mercy! would have put him to death for the treason and villany which he had committed against him. Ah! God of Paradise! all night did I ride to preserve him from death; and his father yielded him to my request, telling me to do with him as I pleased. By God, how true is the saying, that we have no greater enemy than the man we save from the gallows![1] Ah God, once he drew his sword on me in the chamber of the Queen, on whom God have mercy! Ah! blessed Virgin Mary! he was also of accord with my uncle the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel to put me to death, as well as his father, and all my council. Ah! my godfather, my lord St. John the Baptist! all his offences towards me have I pardoned; nor would I listen to my uncle, his father, who twice or thrice condemned him to death. Alas! I acted like a fool. Ah! my good brother, noble King of Bohemia, and you dear brother, Sir Sigismund of Hungary,[2] O noble Duke of Guelders, and all ye noble Barons of Ger-

[1] In an ancient manuscript of Normandy I find the following singular account of a contest as to the right of erecting the Fourkes, which was considered to be the privilege of the 'Lord Justiciary.' 'On Saturday, the 21st of June 1371, the Abbot of St. Ouen at Rouen erected the Fourkes under the wood of Bihorel, where he caused to be hung a robber, as in his barony; but the Fourkes were taken down, and the robber unhung, and hung to the King's gibbet, in the presence of the mayor and a great many of the burgesses. Thereupon, at the request of the said Abbot, a commissary of Paris laid information, and took the cause before Parliament, where it was pleaded at length; and by the decision of Parliament the Fourkes were restored in the same place about the feast of St. John 1379, and they are there still.' (MS. Colbert, 1424, and Regius, 9859[3]. Bibl. du Roi.)

[2] Sigismund became Emperor of Germany in 1400, and was the first emperor who bore the eagle with two heads on his armorial bearings. He was brother to Anne of Bohemia, Richard's first wife, and by his marriage with Barbara daughter of the Count de Cilley, by Mary daughter of Lord de Coucy (Queen Isabel's governess), the immense possessions of the House of Luxembourg passed to the Crown of Austria. See page 165.

many, I commend myself to you, and beseech you all that you will please to avenge this shameful deed which they have committed without cause. Ah! good King of Scotland! I hope you will pardon all the offences which I have committed against you since I have been King of England! Ah! my dearest mother and lady, Queen of France! I commend myself to you. Alas! I had purposed to visit you very shortly, and to bring with me your daughter Isabel, my dearest lady, who desires greatly to see you. Ah! dearest brother, noble Dauphin of Viennois! Alas! I now see well that I shall never see you again. Ah! good brother Louis, noble Duke of Touraine, and you Catherine and Joanna of France! would that Isabel my dearest and beloved companion were with you. Alas! If I could be assured of her (*safety*), I should die more happily. And you dear brother, noble Count of St. Pol, to you I would commend myself. Ah! dearest father, noble and mighty King of France, for that same love for which our Saviour Jesus Christ descended in the blessed Virgin Mary to take upon himself human nature, take pity on my dearest companion Isabel your daughter. Ah! all ye noble Lords of France, Dukes, Counts, Princes, and other noble Knights, even as I in troth have never forfeited my knighthood, so I advise you faithfully to preserve the honour of chivalry, as you have done; for never was it known that such treason was committed against any of the noble Kings of France as my own cousins and kin have committed against me. So I humbly beseech you all that you will be pleased to aid and encourage my dearest father and lord the noble King of France, whenever he shall think proper to take vengeance; which I pray to God he may do, and, as the case demands, very shortly. Ah! dearest sister and lady, dear companion Isabel of

A. D. 1399. 18th August. The King's lamentations.

A. D. 1399. 18th August. The King's lamentations.

France, could I but see you once before I die, certainly I should die more happily and more willingly. Ah! beloved Jesus! what do these people want with me? Ah! blessed Virgin Mary, what harm have I done them? Ah! my godfather, my lord St. John the Baptist! I commend my soul unto you, and also the souls of those who will die for my sake.' Thus painfully bewailed noble King Richard. The Earl of Salisbury and the others made extraordinary lamentation, bewailing their wives and children, brothers, mothers, and sisters. About one o'clock after midnight the Bishop of Carlisle bent the knee before the King and said, 'My dear Sire, and you my friends and companions, for God's sake be not so discouraged, but cherish good hope, and be firm and stedfast in the faith of our Lord; and, if we must die, let us accept death willingly, and call to mind the passion of our Saviour and of the holy martyrs in Paradise.' At these words the King ceased his lamentations, and all the other lords went to bed.

The Bishop of Carlisle remonstrates with him.

Tuesday, 19th August.

ON the morning of Tuesday the 22nd[1] day of August, King Richard arose and said his orisons, and heard mass most devoutly with his companions; and afterwards they went up on the walls of the castle,

[1] Our chronicler is in error here. The Tuesday succeeding the King's capture was the 19th of August, and it is remarkable that the Monk of St. Denys and Creton have made the same mistake. This circumstance, among others, confirms the Editor in his opinion that the author of this chronicle was the priest who accompanied the Duke of Lancaster on his return from Paris to England, and whom Creton afterwards met in Paris, and who, as he allows, furnished him with the details of the events that had occurred since he left England. There are sufficient discrepancies and additional facts in this chronicle to prove that it was no abridgement of Creton's; but it may, on the other hand, have served Creton as a skeleton outline of his own history. In a later part of the chronicle the day of the month and the day of the week are correctly given.

which are lofty and wide. Now the Monday preceding, the Earl of Northumberland went to the Duke of Lancaster, at Chester, late in the evening; and, when there, he related to the Duke the manner in which he had betrayed the King and his companions. Immediately that the Duke knew that the King was taken, whom he longed to have more than any man living, he made such great rejoicing, he and all those of the army, that the sound of their trumpets and other instruments might be heard for a league around; and he gave orders that every man should be ready to leave in the morning to go to Flint. And at break of day the Duke of Lancaster and all his army put on their armour; they amounted to from sixty to eighty thousand men, whom he arranged in ranks and marshalled in order as if he were going to battle;[1] and in this manner he rode along the beach of the sea to Flint. And, for certain, when he came within two leagues' distance, King Richard and his companions, who were upon the walls, saw clearly the Duke and his army, and heard distinctly the trumpets and other instruments which sounded exceedingly loud. Then began King Richard to tremble and to weep, as well as his companions; and he said, 'Alas! now approaches the hour when we shall be delivered into the hands of our mortal enemy.' When the army was within half a league of Flint castle, the Duke of Lancaster sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl Rutland, and Sir Thomas Percy to the King. When they were come into the presence, they bent the knee with much reverence; but they already wore the cognizance of the Duke of Lancaster. King Richard took the Archbishop of Canter-

A.D. 1399.

Northumberland acquaints Henry of the King's capture.

Henry and his army march to Flint, Tuesday, 19th August.

[1] Henry, upon the prospect of an invasion by the French, issued his orders to the Archbishop of York to arm the clergy, secular and regular, and to regiment and marshal them in thousands, fifties, and twenties. (Fœdera, 1400.)

A. D. 1399. 19th August. The Archbishop of Canterbury's interview with the King.

bury and drew him aside: they conversed together a considerable time; the Archbishop encouraging the King, and telling him that no evil should befall him nor any of his companions. The Earl of Rutland kept himself in the back-ground, as one who was ashamed to speak to the King. The Archbishop then took his leave of the King and returned to the Duke of Lancaster, and rehearsed to him his conversation with the King; and told him that it was not proper that he should go yet to see the King, the King being still at dinner, for he had fasted that day on account of the 'marfoiches.'[1] The Duke awaited a long time outside, with all his army beautifully drawn up two deep all round the castle. The King and his five companions remained at table a sufficiently long time; whilst the army of the Duke, which surrounded the castle, made such a loud noise that it seemed as if all would fall down, and that they could not hear

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[1] There is some difficulty here. The word 'marfoiches' would appear to signify a certain description of cake baked on the hearth, and eaten in the month of March, to celebrate the Annunciation; but it is not known that this practice was continued in the month of August to celebrate the Assumption, although it would appear from the text that it was. Whatever were the causes of the King's fasting, it is clear he had not broken his fast that day till noon, as was the custom on fast-days. The following are the fêtes of the month of August given in King Richard's missal, preserved in the British Museum, to which I have added the days of the week for the year 1399:

August 9th. Vigille.
Th. 14th. Do.
Fri. 15th. Nostre Dame.
Sat. 16th. St. Omer.
Sun. 17th. Oct. St. Laurent.
Mon. 18th. St. Agapit.
Tu. 19th. „ Grant.
Wed. 20th. „ Bernart.
Th. 21st. „ Prime.
Fri. 22nd. „ Simplorien.
Sat. 23rd. „ Tymothe.
Sun. 24th. „ Bertelemy.
Mon. 25th. „ Louis Roy.
Tu. 26th. „ Alondin.

The missal is a splendid specimen of caligraphic art. The margins are filled up with golden vine-leaves, the usual ornament at the end of the fourteenth century. Spelman gives the following as the feasts of the month of August, appointed by Richard Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1400:

S. Laurentii Martyris,
Assumptio beatæ Mariæ, et
S. Bartholomæi Apostoli.
(Concilia, p. 659.)

God when He thundered. Many of the Duke's people came within the castle to see the King, and said to the people of the King and of the other lords in their language, 'Eat heartily and make good cheer, for, by St. George, your heads will shortly be chopped off!' When the King had dined, and grace had been said, the King went down from the Donjon into the lower court, being clothed in disguise as a priest: and presently there arrived, with eleven attendants,[1] the Duke of Lancaster, armed at all points except the basinet, and holding a white rod in his hand; and when he perceived the King, he took off his bonnet and made a bow; and when he approached the King, he bowed very low to the ground; and then the King took off his hood and said, 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, ye are right welcome.' The Duke of Lancaster replied, 'My lord, I am come before you sent for me; and I am come to help you to govern the kingdom of England, which you have not ruled well these twenty-two years that it has been in your government; and therefore, with the consent of the commons, I will help you to govern it.' The King replied by an oath.[2] The Duke then conversed with the Bishop of Carlisle, and with all the others except the Earl of Salisbury; to whom he said, by one of his knights, that as little as he had deigned to speak to him when he was at Paris, so little would he speak to him now. After this the Duke of Lancaster said, 'Bring out the King's horses:' whereupon they brought six horses which certainly were not worth

A.D. 1399. 19th August.

Henry's interview with the King.

[1] The names of the principal nobles who successively joined Henry, and who would be likely to attend Henry in this interview, are given in Appendix E.

[2] The Monk of Evesham makes no mention of Henry's complaint that Richard had governed the kingdom badly, and gives the following as the King's answer: 'In hoc enim, care mi cognate, paratus sum, et omnia vestra sine contradictione aliqua in pace rehabere valeatis.' He adds, 'Ibique Rex postulavit vinum, et simul biberunt.' (Vita R. Ric. ed. Hearne.)

A.D. 1399. 19th August. King Richard taken to Chester.

thirty francs, and they mounted the King on one and his companions on the others, it being then between two and three o'clock in the afternoon; and the King, the Duke, and all the army set out for Chester to lodge there. When they reached Chester, the Duke called the young Duke of Gloucester and the young Earl Arundel, and said to them, 'My cousins, take the King who put your fathers to death unjustly, and take with you as many people as you think proper, and convey him up yonder into the castle, and guard him closely!' The two lords thereupon went to the King and said, 'My lord, you must come with us up yonder into the castle.' The King replied, 'For God's sake, let my companions accompany me!' The young Duke of Gloucester said, 'By St. George, my lord, you will have no companions with you but us and our people; and don't be displeased, for my lord the Duke will not allow it.' The King then began to weep, saying, 'Ah! my dear friends and faithful companions, now I see plainly that I must leave you.' Then the Bishop of Carlisle embraced him, clasping one of his legs, and the Earl of Salisbury took one of his arms, and the three others as they could, weeping and saying 'Adieu! adieu! my dearest lord; now we see indeed that the hour of our separation is come.' King Richard had such great grief, and such sorrow of heart, that he remained a full half-hour without speaking, when those who were appointed to guard him took him and led him away. As for the others, the lords of the army begged the Duke to have mercy on them, for they had only done what good men ought to do. Then the Duke called them and forgave each his opposition, except the Gascon Esquire, who would not lay aside the cognizance of King Richard as the Duke desired him; with which he was much enraged, and caused him to be taken

The parting of the King and his friends.

to Chester castle. Whether he put him to death or not, I do not know.[1] The Duke stayed two days at Chester with his army, when he sent back the half of his people, for it appeared to him he had too many; for the country he thought could not sustain them, and would be too much distressed. The King remained alone in the castle these two days; of his wailings and complaints no one knew anything, except those who strictly guarded him. A. D. 1399.

On the 25th day of August, the Duke of Lancaster[2] and all the army set out, taking the King with them, and they arrived at a city called Lichfield; in which city King Richard thought to escape, but it was not the Lord's will that he should; and from that time forth he was guarded as strictly as a thief or a murderer. Leaving Lichfield, the Duke and his army marched to a city called Coventry. Now know, that, as soon as the Duke and his people set out from Chester, the Welch did him great damage; for, whenever they could entrap the English, they killed and stripped them without mercy: and so the Duke passed all the country of Wales as quickly as he possibly could, for he feared lest the Welch, with the assistance of some of his army, might rescue King

King Richard leaves Chester, and arrives at Lichfield, Sunday, 24th August.

[1] For a notice of Janico Dartasse, Esq. of Gascony, see page 197, note [1].) From this time Creton and his companion were separated from King Richard, and returned to France.

[2] The text reads, 'the Duke of Exeter;' but the mistake is so palpable, that I have inserted the name evidently intended, Lancaster. I did not repeat at page 61 that the other three MSS. read 'Orcestre,' as I had made a general remark to that effect before. Exeter was called in French Excestre; and the termination 'cestre' being common to so many towns, led to frequent mistakes with foreigners: for example, Worcester, then spelt Wircester, is almost always mistaken for Wincestre (Winchester). According to Hall, two of King Richard's assured servants, John Pallet and Richard Seimer, counselled him to escape from Chester, and to take the sands by the river Dee. Probably these parties assisted Richard in his escape from Lichfield. He had so often visited the Bishop's palace there, that, as Mr. Webb remarks, he must have been well acquainted with the intricacies of the place.

A. D. 1399.

King Richard stops three days at Coventry, August 25th to 28th.

Deputation of the Londoners to Henry at Coventry.

Richard.[1] When he reached Coventry,[2] he sojourned there three days. The news that the King was taken prisoner, and that the Duke was bringing him to London, was already known at London, and indeed throughout the country. (*Here a deputation of*) six or seven of the most notable burgesses of London came to meet the Duke and his army, and saluted him most respectfully on behalf of the commons of London and of all the realm of England; saying, 'Dear Sire, the commons of London, and all the commons of the realm of England, salute you more than a hundred thousand times, and humbly beseech you to behead King Richard presently, without bringing him any further.' The Duke of Lancaster replied, 'My friends, certainly I will do nothing of the sort, for it would be great injustice

[1] Mr. Webb suggests that the ancient popular Welch air of 'Sweet Richard' might have been the production of some contemporary bard, and that it long served to keep alive the feeling of regret for his fate. The same epithet is applied to the Chevalier, in some copies of the ballad of 'Lewie Gordon.' In a communication with which I have been favoured from that gentleman, he remarks, 'The Welch, who were enthusiastically attached to their princes, and among them the bards to their patrons, not unfrequently made the misfortunes and death of their public men the subjects of minstrelsy. I think that De la Moor, a knight who was about the person, and wrote of the fall and death of the unfortunate Edward II. (of Caernarvon), mentions their affection for him, and that they thus lamented his death. If it should be thought that the tune of 'Sweet Richard' is of too modern a cast to justify its being thrown back to the beginning of the fifteenth century, I would only refer to 'Ffarewell Ednyfed Fychan,' a tune bearing the name of the counsellor, minister, and general of Llewellyn the Great in the thirteenth century, which is distinguished by a great degree of refinement, and, for beautiful flow of melody and pathos of expression, is hardly to be rivalled by anything of later date. The character of 'Sweet Richard' is light and airy, and rather resembles a memorial of the days of his prosperity than of his adverse fate.' Both the airs in question are to be found in Crotch's 'Specimens of various Styles of Music,' i. 151, 171.

[2] At Newcastle-under-Line, called in the Rolls 'Cestre,' and by the Monk of Evesham 'Novum-cestre,' Richard was met by the Earl of Warwick, whom Henry had released from banishment to the Isle of Man. (Vita R. Ric.)

in me and the nobles of England to put the King to death without trial; but I will bring him to London, and there Parliament will decide what shall be done with him.' When the Duke had left Coventry, and had ridden two days towards London, he was met at about two leagues' distance from that city by the mayor and all the commons—a very grand procession; and they carried the sword before the mayor as if he were a duke. Presently, as the said mayor and his company approached the Duke, they alighted from their horses, and saluted the Duke very respectfully, shouting with one voice, 'Long live Henry the noble Duke of Lancaster, who has conquered all England in less than a month![1] such a lord deserves to be King.' Now is accomplished Merlin's prophecy, which runs thus: 'In the year fourteen hundred, less one, at a triangular castle shall be betrayed a King after he shall have reigned powerfully twenty-two years!'[2] When the noise of the people had subsided, the Duke of Lancaster called the Earl of Arundel and those who had King Richard in guard, who came before him, bringing the King as if he had been a thief. The Duke, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse, approached, and taking off his bonnet said, 'My lord, alight; here are your good friends

A. D. 1399.

The Mayor and the Companies of London meet Henry, Monday, 1st September.

Merlin's prophecy.

[1] From the 4th of July, the day of Henry's landing, to the 17th of August, the day of Richard's capture, there were little more than six weeks. But Henry IV., and his gallant son also, were remarkable for the rapidity of their military movements.

On the return of Henry V. after his victories in 1415, the Londoners exclaimed,

'In fifteen weeks, forsooth, he wrought all this,
Conquer'd Harfleur and Agincourt.'
(Lydgate, Monk of Bury.)

[2] Mr. Webb has ably shewn that neither Creton nor our author has fairly quoted Merlin. The English were formerly much addicted to quoting prophecies: during the wars of the Roses in particular they were rife and current in every corner of the land. See 'A defensation against the poyson of supposed prophecies,' by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, in 1583.

A. D. 1399. Monday, 1st Sept.

King Richard's humiliation,

of London who are come to see you!' King Richard accordingly alighted from a little horse which he rode, and his face was so covered with tears that they scarcely knew him. The Duke then placed himself on the King's left, and said to the mayor and the people of London, 'My lords and friends, here is King Richard; I deliver him into your custody, and beg you to do with him what you wish; and lo, my good cousins of Gloucester and Arundel are with you.' Upon which the mayor and the others took the King, and led him to Westminster; and it was about vespers.[1] The Duke of Lancaster and his company entered London by the principal gate of the city right up the great street to St. Paul's; and all manner of people made such a noise in the city, shouting 'Long live the Duke of Lancaster!' and the trumpets and other instruments, and the bells of the churches and monasteries rang so merrily that you could not even hear God thundering. The Duke alighted straight at the gate of St. Paul's church, and walked up to the great altar, where he said his devotions;

and arrival at Westminster.

Henry visits his father's tomb.

[1] Many evil-disposed persons of the city, hearing of Richard's arrival, assembled in great numbers, and intended to have met him without the town, and so to have slain him, for the great cruelty that he beforetime had used unto the city; but, as God would, the mayor and rulers of the city were informed of their malicious purpose, and gathered to them the worshipful commoners and 'sad' (grave) men of the city, by whose policy, not without great difficulty, they were revoked from their evil purpose. They went, however, unto Westminster, and took John Slake, dean of the King's chapel, whom they brought to Newgate and put into irons. During the King's journey to London he was never allowed to change his clothes. The Monk of Evesham remarks, that Richard had caused to be made for his own use (as it is said) a coat enriched with gold, pearls, and other precious stones, of the value of thirty thousand marcs; and he exclaims, 'O! bone Jesu, nunquid tna tunica inconsutilis, in Evangelio lecta, sic appreciata fuit? Et tamen illa pretiosior, quia virtuosior.' (Vita R. Ric. ed. Hearne.) Can it be wondered that these studied indignities to the captive King, added to the long succession of persecutions which followed, should have ended, together with the deep affliction he felt at the loss of his brother and of his dearest friends, in dethroning reason from a mind that was never of the strongest?

and then went to the tomb of his father, where he wept exceedingly: he then left the church, mounted his horse, set out from the city, and went to lodge without, at the house of the Templars.[1] On the morrow, very early in the morning, King Richard heard mass at Westminster, at his particular desire; and was then taken to the Tower of London by the two before mentioned, the young Duke of Gloucester and the young Earl Arundel. And, as he rode through London on a little horse on his way to prison, they kept an open space round him, that every one might see him; and there was a boy behind him, who pointed him out with his finger, saying, 'Behold King Richard, who has done so much good to the kingdom of England!' It is true that some pitied him much, and others were exceedingly glad, cursing him loudly in their language, and saying, 'Now are we well revenged of this wicked bastard who has governed us so ill.' And in this manner was he taken to the Tower of London.[2]

A. D. 1399. 2nd Sept.

King Richard imprisoned in the Tower of London.

[1] Probably the house of the Knights Hospitallers at Clerkenwell, originally built by Sir Robert Hales, but burnt by the mob in 1381. (Lingard, Hist. Engl.) It must have been then rebuilt. The order of the Templars had ceased for upwards of eighty years; but to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell, belonged the Temple estate, and hence, perhaps, the error. (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii. 550.) Creton mentions that Henry stopped five or six days at St. Paul's (the palace of the bishop, which then adjoined the church, [Monk of Evesham,]) before he went to St. John's. Our English chroniclers state that Henry afterwards retired for three weeks to his castle of Harford (Hereford).

[2] On Sept. 8th, and subsequently, the words 'de avisamento carissimi consanguinei nostri ducis Lancastriæ' were introduced into the patents. In one patent, Sept. 10th, is even introduced 'per consilium Thomæ Rempston, militis.' Thus was the King degraded. The patents issued after his capture in August, being creations of offices for Erpingham, Rempston, and others his bitterest enemies, were evidently obtained by compulsion. His progress to London may be thus traced by the patents:

Wed. Aug. 20th, Chester.
Th. Aug. 21st, Nantwich and Newcastle-under-Line.
Fr. „ 22nd, Newcastle.
Sun. „ 24th, (St. Bartholomew) Lichfield.
Fr. „ 29th, Northampton.
Sat. „ 30th, Dunstable.
Sun. „ 31st, St. Albans.
Tues. Sept. 2nd, Westminster.

A. D. 1399. 3rd Sept.

Henry, the Duke of York, and Rutland visit the King in the Tower.

The Duke of Lancaster went on the morrow to the Tower, with the Duke of York and the Earl of Rutland in his company; and, when there, he desired the Earl of Arundel to send King Richard to him. The Earl went to deliver his message; the which when the King had heard, he replied, 'Arundel, go tell Henry of Lancaster from me that I will do no such thing, and that, if he wishes to speak with me, he must come to me; otherwise I will not speak to him.' The Earl reported his answer to the Duke, upon which he and the other lords went to the King; and, for sure, none of the lords shewed any respect to the King except the Duke of Lancaster, who took off his hat and saluted him respectfully, and said to him, 'My lord, here is our cousin the Duke of Aumarle, and his father our uncle, who wish to speak with you.' To which the King answered, 'Cousin, they are not worthy to speak to me.' 'But have the goodness to hear them,' replied the Duke. Upon which the King uttered an oath, and said to his uncle of York, 'Thou villain! what wouldst thou say to me? and thou traitor of Rutland! thou art neither worthy nor good enough to speak to me, nor to bear the name of Duke, Earl, or Knight: thou, and the villain thy father, have both of you foully betrayed me. I pray to God, and to St. John the Baptist, that cursed may be the hour wherein ye were born; by you and by your false counsel was my uncle of Gloucester put to death. Alas! that I should have ever been so fond of so false a traitor;[1] for by thee the kingdom of England will be destroyed, I am convinced! The Earl of Rutland replied to the King, that in what he said he lied, and threw down his bonnet at his feet; which the King kicked two or three paces from him, and said to him, 'Traitor! I am

King Richard charges York and Rutland with base treason.

[1] *MS. Lebaud* adds, 'Go to the devil, and may he carry you off!'

King and thy lord, and will still continue King; and will be a greater lord than I ever was, in spite of all my enemies; and you are not fit to speak to me!' Upon this the Duke of Lancaster forbad the Earl to speak, or he would order the Constable and Marshal to lay the hand upon him till such time as he should repent. After these words the King asked the Duke of Lancaster, 'Why do you keep me so closely guarded by your men-at-arms? I wish to know if you acknowledge me as your lord and King, or what you mean to do with me?' The Duke replied, 'It is true you are my King and lord, but the council of the realm have ordered that you should be kept in confinement until the day of the meeting of Parliament.' The King again swore, and desired that the Queen his wife might come to speak to him. 'Excuse me, my lord,' replied the Duke, 'it is forbidden by the council.' Then was the King in great wrath, but he could not help himself, and said to the Duke, that he did great wrong both to him and to the Queen. The Duke replied, 'My lord, we cannot do otherwise till the Parliament meets.' The King was so enraged with this speech that he could scarce speak, and paced twenty-three steps down the room without uttering a word; and presently he broke out thus: 'O God of Paradise! O Virgin Mary! O St. John the Baptist and all the saints of Paradise, how can you suffer the great wrongs and treason which this people have committed and wish to commit against me, and my dear lady, my wife, and daughter of my dear and beloved lord and father the noble King of France, who little dreams of our miserable condition and in what danger we are placed! Now I see plainly that you are all false traitors to God, my lady, and me; this will I prove against any four of the best of you with my body, like a loyal knight as I am, and I never forfeit-

A. D. 1399. 3rd Sept.

A. D. 1399. 3rd Sept.

ed my knighthood.' (For it is true that my lord was all his life a good and loyal knight.) 'My grandfather, King Edward, gave me the crown before his death, God have mercy on him! and afterwards was I crowned by the consent of all the nobles, and of the whole country; and you have acknowledged me as your King these twenty-two years, how dare you use me so cruelly? I say that you behave to me like false men, and like false traitors to their lord; this will I prove, and fight four of the best of you, and there is my pledge:' saying which the King threw down his bonnet. The Duke of Lancaster fell on his knees, and besought him to be quiet till the meeting of Parliament, and there every one would bring forward his reason. 'At least, fair sirs, for God's sake let me be brought to trial, that I may give an account of my conduct, and that I may answer to all they would say against me.' Then said the Duke of Lancaster, 'My lord, be not afraid, nothing unreasonable shall be done to you.' And so he took leave of the King, and not a lord who was there durst utter a word.

King Richard challenges the Lords.

After this began the Parliament;[1] and, when Henry

[1] Our chronicler appears imperfectly informed of the proceedings of Parliament, and omits the important fact, that Richard had resigned his crown on Monday, 29th Sept., it is to be feared, by compulsion. The meeting intended to be described in the text is that of the archbishops, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the people of the kingdom, in Westminster Hall, on Tuesday, the feast of St. Jerome, Sept. 30th, 1399. The Parliament had been summoned, in the name of Richard, to meet at Westminster on Michaelmas-day; but, as Richard had been compelled to resign his crown, those summonses were of no effect. On Tuesday, Sept. 30th, Richard's resignation was read and accepted, the King's seat in Westminster Hall being vacant. Henry then challenged his right to the realm of England, which was allowed by the lords and people present, and shewed them the signet Richard had given; and then, according to the Rolls of Parliament (which, however, it must be remembered, is an ex-parte statement), he was led to the throne by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, amidst the applause of the people. (Rot. Parl. iii. 423. See also Rep. on the Dignity of a Peer, i. 349.)

'There was a Parliament held

of Lancaster entered, he found there already seated all the prelates of the kingdom, to wit, eighteen bishops and thirty-two mitred abbots, besides the other prelates. The Duke came in state thus: two archbishops and his four sons walking before him; and his two brothers, and the three Dukes, of Surrey, Aumarle, and Exeter (King Richard's brother), who all wore his livery, walking arm in arm after him. And when the Duke had entered, Sir Thomas Percy,[1] bearing a white rod in his hand, sat down right before the

A.D. 1399.

The meeting of the two Estates, Tuesday, 30th September.

on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel at London, where the King was spoken to as to his deposition; and, seeing that many nobles as well as plebeians were disposed to accuse him, he asked permission, as it is said, to attend the Parliament once, and, placing the crown of the realm upon the ground, resigned his right to God.' (See App. C.) Henry's speeches on the occasion are preserved in the Rolls of Parliament, and are given in Dr. Lingard's History of England. He claimed the kingdom by right of conquest, it being vacant by the resignation of Richard; and represented Edmund Earl of Lancaster, his maternal ancestor, without even the pretence of a proof, as in truth the elder brother of Edward I. The real heir to the throne was young Edmund Mortemer, Earl of March, grandson of the Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt's elder brother; and Richard had proclaimed him as such before his departure for Ireland. 'Hæres malus, indeed,' said Edmund unto his private friends; 'and so is the pirate unto the merchant when he despoileth him of all that he hath.' (Sir J. Hayward, Life of Henry IV.) Seven persons were appointed commissioners to pronounce sentence of deposition on King Richard, and to intimate it to him; which they did the next day, Wednesday.

The Bishop of St. Asaph appeared for the archbishops and bishops; the Abbot of Glastonbury for the abbots and priors, and all the men of Holy Church, secular and 'rewelers;' the Earl of Gloucester for the dukes and earls; the Lord of Berkeley for the barons and banerettes; Sir Thomas Erpingham, with Sir Thomas Grey, for the bachelors and commons; and Sir John Markham, with Sir Wm. Thirnyng, for the judges. (Knyghton, ii. 2760.)

Writs were issued in Henry's name for summoning a Parliament on the 6th October; but business was not proceeded with till Tuesday, October 14, the day following Henry's coronation.

[1] The subsequent conduct of the Earl of Worcester (Sir Thos. Percy) proves that he never fully approved of Henry's conduct. He was characterised by prudence and discretion, and had been chosen procurator for the clergy in 1397. Creton speaks of him cautiously. Richard gave him one hundred marks, 5th July 1397. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. p. 1.) Henry allowed him to retain an annuity of 20*l.* a-year which King Richard had given him, the 29th Sept., the 21st of his reign. (Rot. Claus. Mar. 28, 1 Hen. IV.)

A. D. 1399. 30th Sept. Duke, and cried out 'Long live Henry of Lancaster, King of England!' when all the lords, prelates, and commons of England exclaimed 'Yes, yes, Henry of Lancaster shall be our King, and none other!' The

Henry seats himself on the throne. Duke then sat himself down on the throne before he was crowned, in the place where the King is accus-

His speech. tomed to sit. The first point that the Duke mentioned was, that he had come back to the country for the benefit of the realm and the people, and to take possession of his own inheritance; he then proved that King Richard had forfeited his life and his crown, for which he gave this reason, that he and his council had put to death, without cause or reason, the two greatest warriors of all the country! 'First, they have put to death,' said he, 'my dear uncle the Duke of Gloucester, son of good King Edward, and my cousin the Earl of Arundel; and then the King, when he went to Ireland, gave the realm to farm to four knights, the heads of three of whom I sent to the people of London, and the fourth is in prison at your disposition; and I maintain, that when a King sets his kingdom in a blaze, or destroys town or village by fire, as King Richard has done,[1] that he has forfeited his crown. And know, that, if I had not come over, the kingdom was on the point of being undone. Consider the matter, my lords, and give a just judgment.' The council of the country and the Parliament answered him, 'To-morrow, my lord, we will give you our decision.' And such was the first day's proceedings of the Duke of Lancaster and of his Parliament, neither more nor less.

Item, the morrow when the Duke was seated on

[1] I know of no other town burnt but Cirencester, which the lords who rose in Richard's behalf set fire to; but that event happened in Jan. 1400. It is to be feared that the chronicler wrote this speech after his return to Paris in 1400. In other respects, the speech agrees in the main with the Rolls of Parliament.

the throne, where King Richard had been accustomed A. D. 1399.
to sit, he sent one of the dukes to tell a knight, called Sir Baldwin Pigot,[1] to summon the lords of the council and the commons. It is true that the Bishop of Carlisle, who was of the order of St. Benedict, rose from his seat and demanded leave to speak; which when he had obtained, he said as follows: 'My lords, consider well before you give judgment upon what my lord the Duke has set forth, for I maintain that there is not one present who is competent and fit to judge such a sovereign as my lord the King whom we have acknowledged our (liege) lord for the space of twenty years and more, and I will give you my reasons; there never was, nor is in this world, any false traitor nor wicked murderer, who, if he be taken prisoner by the hands of justice, is not, at the least, brought before the judge to hear his sentence. My lords, you have well and truly heard the accusations that my lord the Duke has made against King Richard; and it appears to me that you are

The Bishop of Carlisle's speech in favour of Richard.

[1] Query, Sir Baldwin Freville, who claimed, unsuccessfully, the office of champion in right of the castle of Tamworth. It appears to me that, by the word 'lendemain,' the following day was not strictly intended, as MSS. *O* and *I* read 'lendemain le xiii^e^ et xiiii^e^ jour' respectively. It is probable that the Bishop of Carlisle's speech was delivered on Thursday, Oct. 23, when the Earl of Northumberland, by direction of Henry, asked the lords spiritual and temporal, in secret committee, 'what should be done with Richard lately King, saving his life, which King Henry wished by all means to be held sacred?' The sentence of perpetual imprisonment, agreed upon that day, was confirmed by Henry in Parliament, and by the lords spiritual and temporal, on Monday Oct. 27th. The commons took no part in the sentence. Hall is of this opinion. He remarks, 'When it was demanded by the King's friends what should be done with King Richard, the Bishop of Carlisle, which was a man both well learned and well stomacked, rose up and said,' &c. (Rot. Parl. iii. 426-7.) On the 28th Oct. a warrant was addressed to the Abbot of St. Albans, enjoining him to deliver the person of the Bishop of Carlisle to the bearer, that he might appear the Wednesday following before the King and council. The Bishop had been before committed to the custody of the Abbot of St. Albans, but was liberated on the 18th of Oct. (Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV.)

A. D. 1399. about to give judgment, and to condemn King Richard, without hearing what he has to answer, or even his being present. Moreover, I say that my lord the Duke has more erred and offended against King Richard, than has the King against him; for we know full well that my lord the Duke was banished ten years by the council of the realm, and by the consent of his own father, for the great crime which he and the Duke of Norfolk committed; and he has returned to the country without the King's permission: and moreover I say he has done still worse, for he has seated himself on the throne, where no lord ought to sit other than the lawfully crowned King of England; wherefore I declare that you ought to bring King Richard in presence of the full Parliament to hear what he has to say, and to see whether he be willing to relinquish his crown to the Duke or not.' Then the Duke of Lancaster commanded that they should lay hands on the Bishop, and convey him to prison to St. Albans.[1] And, after the Bishop was led away to prison, the Duke demanded sentence upon King Richard: upon which the Recorder of London said, 'My lords,

The Bishop committed to the custody of the Abbot of St. Albans.

[1] It will be noticed that the Bishop of Carlisle was a Benedictine. If the author of the chronicle was a religieux of St. Denys, which was a Benedictine abbey, this may account in part for his eulogy of the Bishop. The Monk of Evesham remarks, that with difficulty his friends procured permission for his retirement or imprisonment. He speaks of his private character in no flattering terms; and adds, that he and the Bishop of Worcester (Tydeman) were the private companions and principal advisers of King Richard, passing with him the greater part of the night in idleness the year round, 'de quo multi multa loquuntur.' Of the Bishop of Worcester he remarks, that henceforth he renounced his jests and drolleries, devoted himself to his bishopric, and never after was seen at the King's bench. (Vita R. Ric. ed. Hearne, 168.) The Bishop of Carlisle was tried by a special commission for communication with the insurgent lords in Jan. 1400, was found guilty, and committed to the Tower on the 10th of the month. (Fœdera.) He was pardoned on the 28th of November, restored to Henry's favour, accepted valuable preferment from him, and was returned a member of the Lower House of Convocation in 1406.

it is ordered by all the prelates, by all the lords of the council, and by the commons of England, that John of Bordeaux, who has been called Richard King of England, be sentenced and condemned to be imprisoned in a royal castle; that he have the best bread and the best meat that can be found for gold or silver; and, if any should raise war for his deliverance, he should be the first that should suffer death for that attempt.'[1] Thus was he falsely sentenced by the said Parliament. A. D. 1399. The sentence upon Richard.

Item. The morrow, the third day of Parliament, the commons request of the Duke of Lancaster that three dukes might be put to death, that is to say, the Duke of Surrey Earl of Kent, the Duke of Aumarle Earl of Rutland, and the Duke of Exeter Earl Huntingdon, brother of King Richard.[2] Item, the Lord Fitzwalter called to the field the Duke of Aumarle Earl Rutland, and charged him with being alike false and disloyal to King Richard, and traitor to the Duke of Lancaster and all the kingdom, traitor in fact to both parties. Item, the old Morley[3] appealed Montagu who was Earl of Salisbury, and charged him with being a traitor both to King Richard and the Duke; and there were thrown (*on the floor*) at Dissensions between the Lords.

[1] Although Rapin states that all historians agree that this sentence was passed, I believe the latter clause is *not* supported by any other document. The MS. of the Bodleian Library, No. 2376, of part of which Mr. Webb has given a translation (Archæol. xx. 280) does not mention it, but states expressly that Henry granted Richard his life; whereas the effect of this clause would have been, as Rapin remarks, to pass upon him a sentence of death, granting him his life only upon a contingency over which he could have no controul. It is remarkable that the commons did not join in the sentence against Richard. See Rot. Parl. iii. 426-7.

[2] 'Ortum est murmur maximum in communi populo contra Regem et Archiep. Cantuar. aliosque de Regis concilio, quod vitas salvassent hominum quos vulgus sceleratissimos et morte dignissimos reputabat.' (Walsingham.)

[3] The name in the MS. is Morebray, but on reference to the following page it is clearly evident that Lord Morley is intended.

A. D. 1399. More than forty pledges thrown on the floor of the house.

the said Parliament more than forty pledges of the lords to call one another to the field of battle, each charging the other with falsehood and treason. Item, there was one named Hall who had assisted at the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, who was brought before Parliament and confessed the fact; and shortly after he was drawn two English leagues, and ripped open. After this he spoke, and they gave him some drink. They then drew out his bowels, which were burnt in his sight; and afterwards cut off his head, and quartered his body.[1]

Item. The Duke of Lancaster pardoned all the lords their offences that those of the popular party wished to charge them with; but the Earl of Salisbury and the old Morley, these two lords were appointed to fight in a city which is called Newcastle.[2] The Saturday before his coronation the Duke made fifty-four knights in the hall of the Tower of London; of whom four were his sons, two his younger brothers,

Henry creates a batch of knights, Saturday, 11th October.

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[1] This barbarous execution agrees with the sentence passed upon Hall by the Parliament. *MS. Y.* adds, 'his head was sent to Calais,' which formed part of the sentence. (See Rot. Parl. iii. 453, and MS. Bodl. 2376, f. ccix. Executions still more savage, at which humanity recoils, were inflicted during the wars of the Roses. (See Chron. of the White Rose of York.)

[2] John Vaux was sent by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the Constable and Marshal of England, to the city of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and commissioned by them to make preparation for the trial of battle between the Earl of Salisbury and the Lord Morley. (Pell of Issue Rolls, Michs. 1 Hen. IV.) It does not appear by any known record that the trial took place. Henry must however have imprisoned the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, Salisbury, and Gloucester immediately after he captured Richard, as I find on the 18th of October an order to the Constable of the Tower of London to liberate John Earl of Sarum and Thos. Earl of Gloucester, an order to the Constable of the castle of Wallingford to liberate Thomas Duke of Surrey, and to the Constable of the castle of Hertford to liberate John Earl of Huntingdon. (Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV.) The Bishop of Carlisle was liberated the same day. Our chronicler subsequently states that Henry kept the lords nine weeks in prison, which agrees with this date.

the seventh was the Earl of Arundel, the eighth was A. D. 1399.
the young Earl of Stafford,[1] the ninth Sir Frank de la Court, and of the other knights I have not the least knowledge. On the next day the Duke paraded through London to Westminster, accompanied by his newly-made knights, who were all dressed alike, and looked like so many priests.[2] The following day was

[1] Edmund Earl of Stafford, and the Lord Hugh, brother to the Earl of Stafford, were amongst the peers knighted. (Lib. Pann. in Magna Garderoba.) The Lord Edmund had lately succeeded his brother Thomas in the earldom. He married, by the King's special license, his brother's widow, Anne, daughter of the late Duke of Gloucester.

[2] The number of knights created by Henry was forty-six; but he was accompanied in procession by the mayor and seven principal citizens, making in all fifty-four. Most of their names are given by Holinshed, who has copied them from MS. 2376, Bodl. Froissart tells us that they were Knights of the Bath; that they had watched all the preceding night, had bathed in token of purity, and were dressed in long green coats, the sleeves whereof were cut straight, and furred with minever, and with great hoods or chapperons furred in the same manner, and after the fashion used by prelates, which accounts for the observation in the text that they looked like so many priests. It appears, however, that their coats or mantles were of green and blue tartan, and that the mantles of the peers were of green and gold tartan, lined with ermine. (Lib. Pann. in Mag. Gard.) They all had double cordons, or strings of white silk upon their shoulders, from which white tassels were pendent. (Anstis on the Knighthood of the Bath.) The Knights of the Bath were not the only knights who watched previous to their installation; witness the Livre du Chevalier errant, written by the Marquis de Saluces in 1394. (MS. Bibl. du Roi, fo. 3.)

'Le Roi me va demandant
De mon estre en present
Et de ma lignee et de mon affaire
Ainsi quel je diz sans contraire
Toute mon affaire en present.
Ainsi moy va retenant
Que je feusse de sa court
Mais que a nul ne feisse tort.
Adonc moy firent confesser
Et toute la nuit veillier,
La de blanc je fuz vestuz
Et puis men ont revestuz
Dune robe qui fu embrassee
Du plus bel rouge de la contree.
La veillay celle nuitiee
Tant que vint a la journee.
Là me firent la messe oyr
Toute entiere sans partir.
La le Roy si me douba
Et la colee me donna
Et dist loyaulx et hardiement
Ne soit nul iour en toy faillant
Et tousdiz ayez en memoire
Lordre de cheualerie et son œuure
Et ainsi auras asses honneurs
Qui ne te fauldront nulz iours.'

The three youngest only of Henry's sons appear to have been knighted at this time, (Lib. Pann. &c.,) although Sandford in his

A. D. 1399. Henry's coronation, St. Edward's day, 13th October.

St. Edward's day. Then proceeded the Duke on foot in royal array from Westminster Hall to the church; all the streets through which he passed were covered with good striped cloth: he was preceded by all the prelates wearing their mitres, and by the Bishop of London, who carried the sacrament, and chaunted the mass. The Duke was then crowned by two archbishops; and, when the King returned, he wore his crown and sceptre, and, as he went along, they held over him a covering of silk cloth supported by four rods with four little silver bells.[1] Before him rode his four sons; then came the Marshal on a high saddle, armed from head to foot, carrying a silver mace in his hand; after him came the Constable. When King Henry was seated, they cried 'Oyez;' and it was proclaimed by order of the King, the Constable, and the Grand Steward of the household, that all manner of foreigners should be forbidden the court and the King's hall that day, except the people of the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, and those are right welcome to the King's court. The King ordered that they should give them good cheer, and that they should be served after the King and the people of the City, but before all others. Such was the King's desire. And it is true that the king of the heralds held

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Geneal. Hist. (p. 267,) says that the eldest son of Henry was knighted also. It is probable our author was mistaken as to the two younger brothers of Henry, viz. John Beaufort Marquis of Dorset, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, afterwards the celebrated Cardinal Beaufort. If Henry reknighted them, it was an oblique insult to Richard.

[1] The Monk of St. Denys gives the date of the coronation, Wednesday, October 1st. Froissart informs us that the canopy was carried by four burgesses of Dover, and that nine conduits in Cheapside were flowing with white and red wine. In *MS. Y.* is an allusion to the Champion, see page 75. John Dymock claimed the right of being Champion at Richard's coronation in 1377, in right of Margaret his wife, owner of the manor of Scrivelsby. (Processus coronationis Ric. II. Latin MS. 6049. Bibl. du Roi.)

a little bag in his hand, whilst the others cried out 'Largesse.'[1] A. D. 1399.

Arrest of Walden, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Item. Walden, who had been, and who was (*by right*) Archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of his see, and placed under arrest. Now he had a mother-in-law who dwelt at Saint Bartholomew's; but the people of the new King left neither to mother nor son robe nor plate, but cleared the house of every thing: the King likewise seized all the goods of the Bishop of Carlisle, who had so boldly spoken to him in the Parliament in favour of King Richard.

Item. On the vigil of All Saints, at break of day, King Henry sent to King Richard a black suit of clothes, and a black horse to carry him to the prison where he was about to be confined for ever, according to his sentence. When the King saw the black clothes and the black spurs, he asked for whom they were intended; the servant replied, 'Dear Sire, they are for you.' The King then asked, 'Who are to accompany me?' 'The men of Kent will form your guard,' replied the servant. 'Alas! I see well how things go, for they are the worst enemies I have. Go and tell Henry of Lancaster from me that I am a loyal knight; that I never

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[1] 'Largesse ou noblesse, cest-à-dire liberalité.' (St. Palaye, Memoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie.) After the receipt of a gift from a peer, the heralds cried 'Largesse de hault et puissant Prince A. B.,' naming the titles of the donor. (Leland.) Henry was anointed with the sacred oil that was said to have been given by an angel to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, as the French called Thomas à Becket, when he had taken refuge in France, together with an ampulla of lapis (? lazuli), enriched with pearls and precious stones, and surmounted with an eagle. Richard had carried these treasures with him to Ireland, and had expressed a desire to be anointed with the oil, but Henry seized upon the relics. Mezeray remarks that this anointing ought to have softened Henry's heart. (Mezeray. Walsingham.)

For further particulars the reader is referred to Bouchet's Annales d'Aquitaine, or Archæol. xx. 265.

A. D. 1399. Richard taken, by Gravesend, to Ledes castle.

forfeited my knighthood; and that he must send me a knight's spurs, otherwise I will not stir.' Then the servant brought him gilt spurs, a large horn, and a hunting spear;[1] and thus accoutred, the horn hanging from his neck, and spear in hand, the King left London, escorted by his enemies, who led him in the disguise of a forester; and he reached Gravesend the same day to dinner, and there they kept him in confinement.[2] [Henry then threw into prison these three lords, for the suspicions he entertained of them; the Duke of Exeter Earl of Huntingdon and brother of King Richard by his mother, the Duke of Surrey Earl of Kent, and the Duke of Aumarle Earl of Rutland; and much he feared many others.][3] Nine weeks did the King keep the aforesaid lords in prison, after he had seized upon all their property; and then the Abbot of Westminster became surety for them, to deliver them up to the King when he should require them, upon which all three were delivered up to him and were well lodged in his abbey; and the Abbot said to them, 'You shall be entertained honourably for King Richard's sake.'[4]

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[1] 'Eppieu,' as *MSS. O* and 9848 read, a short spear, such as the foresters were then accustomed to carry.

[2] The words 'grand sands' in *MS. O.* may give us the derivation of Gravesend. Peter de Ickham (MS. 4323 Harl.) and Polydore Vergil state that Richard was first taken to Ledes castle in Kent; Hardyng mentions his subsequent removal to Pickering, Knaresborough, and Pontefract. (Chronicle, p. 356.)

[3] The sentence within the brackets is from *MS. Le Beau;* but, as the sense of the subsequent sentence is imperfect without it, it may be presumed that it was in the original, and that all the other MSS. have omitted it. The Close Rolls confirm the fact of their imprisonment. See note [2], p. 224. If they were nine weeks in prison, they must have been put there immediately on the King's capture.

[4] The Abbot of Westminster was evidently attached to Richard; he had accompanied him to Ireland, and had been sent, in 1396, with letters to the two pretendants for the papacy. He went first to Avignon; but as Benedict would not receive him unless he granted him all the honours due to the papacy, he thought it useless to prosecute his journey

A. D. 1399. 17th Dec. The plot at the chambers of the Abbot of Westminster.

Item. It is true that the eighth day before Christmas, thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen, the following parties were dining in the rooms of the Abbot of Westminster; that is to say, the first Duke was the Duke of Exeter Earl of Huntingdon; the second, the Duke of Surrey Earl of Kent; the third, the Duke of Aumarle Earl of Rutland. The first Earl was the Lord Despencer Earl of Gloucester; and the second, the Earl of Salisbury; the late Archbishop of Canterbury, named Walden, was also there, and so was the good Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster, and Maudeleyn who resembled King Richard, with Master Pol, King Richard's physician, and a wise baron, Sir Thomas Blount. When the lords had finished dinner, they went into a side council-chamber, and a secretary was present who had prepared six small deeds, which were all cut and indented one to fit the other; to which each of the said lords affixed his seal, and swore by their souls to be faithful to one another even unto death, and to restore King Richard to his kingdom and seignory, or to die in the attempt. They resolved to surprise King Henry and his sons at a tournament to be held on the day of the three Kings;[1] for which purpose they were to assemble on New-year's day at a town called Kingston,[2] ten leagues from London; and that Maudeleyn should ride with them, to represent King Richard. Item. King Henry

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to the other Pope, and returned home. (Le Laboureur.)

[1] Twelfth-day. *MS. Lebaud* reads, the first Sunday in the year. The Sloane MS. gives an account of an extraordinary instrument, called a caltrappe, which was laid in Henry's bed for the purpose of his destruction. (Life of Henry of Monmouth, by Rev. J. E. Tyler.) It was reported to have been laid there by one of Isabella's household. Armed men were also introduced into Windsor castle in wagons, with a view to capture the King and his sons; but, warned by Rutland of the designs of the lords under pretence of making a 'mommynge,' they had taken their departure.

[2] Kingston was formerly written Kyngeston, which nearly approaches the word in the Chronicle. (See the coins of Edw. II.)

A. D. 1400. sent letters to all the lords of his kingdom, inviting and commanding that they would come to the feast of the new King at his castle of Windsor.

Item. On New-year's day, King Henry had in his company his four sons, his two brothers, four earls, and four dukes; to wit, the Dukes of York, Surrey, Aumarle, and Exeter, who all wore the same uniform; and the same day, after Henry and all the lords had dined, eleven persons, viz. an archbishop, a duke, four earls, two knights, and three of the men of London, these went down upon their knees, and presented a petition to King Henry, beseeching him to remember what he had said the day before, that he wished to deliver King Richard from this world and put him to death.[1] King Henry looked at them (*stedfastly*) and said, 'Cousin Archbishop of Canterbury, good uncle of York, you Earl of Arundel, and you Constable Earl of Northumberland, you Marshal Earl of Westmoreland, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Erpingham, and Harry Percy, consider well amongst yourselves what it is you require of me; for King Richard has been our sovereign lord a long time, and was sentenced and condemned in open Parliament to perpetual imprisonment; and I say, if there shall be any rising in arms in the country in his favour, he shall be the first who shall die for it. For I have great marvel that you should ask me such a thing. Do you think

Several lords request Henry to put Richard to death.

[1] This appears to be an allusion to the saying of Henry, reported by Froissart and repeated by Hall: 'Have I no faithful friend which will deliver me of him whose life will be my death, and whose death the preservation of my life?' Mr. Webb considers this deputation an improbable event; but, looking at the strongly marked opposition of the men of London throughout the whole history, it appears to be but in keeping with their usual conduct. (See Preface.) The Monk of St. Denys remarks: 'The wicked Londoners did not cease to demand with reiterated cries the execution of the King. Henry rather endeavoured to appease them, saying he was not willing to alter the judgment of Parliament.'

that I would do this at your bidding? So God help me, I will by no means act in opposition to the open Parliament.' And, the Friday after New-year's day, all the lords left Windsor, and went to London to prepare their armour, their horses, their lances, and every thing appertaining to the joust, that they might be ready on the day of the Kings;[1] and, having taken leave of King Henry, each departed to his own county, to raise his men and be in readiness for the rendezvous they had agreed upon at Kingston. Item. The Duke of Surrey went to take leave of the Countess of Kent, his mother; he also took leave of the Earl of Salisbury, and then went home to his house near Saint Albans. The Earl of Gloucester[2] was quite prepared. A. D. 1400.

[1] 'Which thing obtained, all the lords of this conspiracy departed to their houses (as they noised) to set armourers on work for trimming of their harness against the solemn jousts. Some had the helm, the visor, the two bauiers, and the two plackardes of the same curiously graven and cunningly costed. Some had their collars fretted, and others had them set with gilt bullions; one company had the placard, the rest the port, the burley, the tasses, the lamboys, the backpiece, the tassel, and the border of the cuirass all gilt. And another band had them all enamelled azure. One sort had the vambrases, the pacegardes, the grand guards, the poldren, the pollettes, parted with gold and azure. And another flock had them silver and sable. Some had the mainferres, the close gauntlets, the guisettes, the flancardes dropped and goutted with red, and others had them speckled with green. One sort had the quishes, the greves, the surlettes, the sockets on the right side and on the left side silver. Some had the spear, the burre, the coronet, all yellow; and others had them of divers colours. One band had the schafferon, the cranet, the bard of the horse, all white; and others had them all gilt. Some had their arming swords freshly burnished, and some had them cunningly varnished. Some spurs were white, some gilt, and some coal-black. One part had their plumes all white, another had them all red, and a third had them of several colours. One wore on his head-piece his lady's sleeve, and another bare on his helm the glove of his darling. But to declare the costly bases, the rich bardes, the pleasant trappers both of goldsmiths' work and embroidery, no less sumptuously than curiously wrought, it would ask a long time to declare; for every man after his appetite devised his fantasy, verifying the old proverb, so many heads, so many wits.' (Hall, i. fol. 12, quarto, 1542.)

[2] The party here referred to is Lord Despencer the late Earl of Gloucester. Henry, with the

A. D. 1400. The Earl of Huntingdon's parting interview with his Countess.

The Duke of Exeter Earl Huntingdon went to take leave of his lady, who was a daughter of the late Duke of Lancaster, and sister to King Henry, and also to the Queen of Spain and Portugal. But the lady began to weep; and the Duke said, 'Madam,[1] why do you weep now? for you made great rejoicings when my dear lord the King and I were placed under arrest (and we are still under his displeasure): and also when your brother was crowned, and my lord and brother was despoiled of his crown, which he had worn nobly for twenty-two years, I had great sorrow at heart and wept; and you, madam, had then great rejoicing and mirth; why do your tears fall so now?' The lady had such excessive sorrow at the departing of her lord and husband that she could not utter a word; for she saw her lord set out with so many fine men-at-arms and archers, that she feared for King Henry her brother, as well as for her husband. The Duke then kissed his wife and his two daughters,

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consent of Parliament, had sentenced him to 'lese and forego' the title of Earl: in like manner he had deprived the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Rutland of their dukedoms of Exeter, Surrey, and Albemarle; and the Marquis of Dorset of his title. They were also forbidden to give 'liveries of signs,' or to have a greater retinue than was necessary for their households. (Rot. Parl. iii. 452.)

Our chronicler occasionally continues the higher title, though he alludes to the fact of their deprivation.

[1] Hall and other English chroniclers have evidently copied this scene, and enlarged upon it. Hall quaintly writes, 'What, Besse! how chanceth this? When my brother King Richard was deposed of his dignity, and committed to hard and sharp prison, which had been King and ruled this realm nobly by the space of twenty-two years, and your brother was exalted to the throne and dignity imperial of the same, then my heart was heavy, my life stood in jeopardy, and my comb was clearly cut; but you then rejoiced, laughed, and triumphed,' &c. (Hall, i. fol. 12, quarto, 1542. See also Sir J. Hayward's Life of Henry IV.) On the occasion of Richard's marriage he had given to the Countess of Huntingdon the manors of Rostormell, Penlyn, and Penkreth. The patent is dated from Calais. (Rot. Pat. 10 Aug. 19 Ric. II. p. 1.)

my Lady of Oxford and my Lady Mowbray, saying, A.D. 1400. 'Adieu, my sweet girls, I commend you to God; pray for me!'

The gathering of Richard's friends at Kingston, Sunday, 4th January.

Item. On the first Sunday of the year, the Duke of Exeter, the Duke of Surrey, and the Earl of Salisbury met at Kingston, with eight thousand archers and three hundred lances of men-at-arms, the flower of all England; and, on setting off from Kingston, the lords sent letters to the Duke of Aumarle Earl of Rutland, in London, urging him not to fail to be at Colnbrook on the night of the Kings. The Duke of Aumarle was dining, the first Sunday of the year,[1] with his father the Duke of York; and, after he had seated himself at table, he placed the indenture of their confederacy upon the table. When the Duke saw it, he demanded, 'What letter is that?' The Earl, taking off his bonnet, replied, 'My lord, do not be angry, it does not touch you.' 'Shew it to me,' said the Duke to his son, 'for I will know what it is.' Aumarle then handed the letter to his father. And when the Duke of York saw the six seals, he read the letter throughout; which done, he said, 'Saddle the horses directly. Hey! thou traitor thief, thou hast been traitor to King Richard, and wilt thou now be false to thy cousin King Henry? Thou knowest well enough that I am thy pledge-borrow, body for body, and land for goods, in open Parliament; and I see plainly thou goest about to seek my destruction. By St. George! I had rather thou shouldst be hung than I.' And so the Duke of York mounted on horseback to ride to Windsor to reveal the matter to King Henry, and to shew him the letters which he

[1] The correctness of the day here mentioned is borne out by the fact that a warrant for the arrest of the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon was made out on January 5th. Henry arrived at London at too late an hour on Sunday (Jan. 4th) to have the order made out.

A. D. 1400. Sunday, 4th January. had taken from his son. The Duke of Aumarle, seeing that his father was gone to King Henry at Windsor, set off himself, and arrived there a good time before his father, who was advanced in years; he then caused the castle-gates to be shut, and carried the keys with him to King Henry, before whom he bent the knee, beseeching his forgiveness. The King replied, 'Fair cousin, you have done nothing amiss.' Then he declared unto him the power of the confederated lords, their names, and the whole of the conspiracy; how he and his sons were to have been seized, and King Richard and his Queen restored, and that he had been a party to the enterprise; for which he begged for mercy and forgiveness. 'If this be true,' said Henry, 'we pardon you; but if I find it false, upon our word you shall repent it.' Whilst they were talking together, the Duke of York arrived, and presented to the King the indenture he had taken from his son; and, when the King saw the indenture with its six seals, he ordered eight horses to be saddled, for he would go to London presently. The King mounted on horseback, and reached London at nine o'clock at night: on his road he met the mayor with four attendants, hastening to inform him that the lords had taken the field with six thousand followers. A proclamation was immediately issued that all those who were willing to serve their King and the city of London should repair to the council-house, enrol their names, and swear to serve loyally; promising, for fifteen days, eighteen pence for every lance, and nine pence for every archer. By the morrow morning at eight o'clock, more than sixteen thousand men were enrolled and paid, and ready to follow the King.[1]

Rutland reveals the conspiracy.

Henry raises an army.

[1] Hall's account is, that Henry reached London about twelve o'clock at night, and that the mayor brought him three thou-

A.D. 1400. Henry marches against the insurgent lords, Tuesday, 6th January.

On the day of the Kings, the sixth day of the year thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen (o. s.), at the hour of noon, King Henry set out from London to encounter the other lords who were his enemies, with only fifty lances and six thousand archers. When he had reached a fine common a little way out of town, he gave orders to draw up his men, and he waited till three o'clock in the afternoon the arrival of his reinforcements from the city. In the mean while he said to the Earl of Warwick with tears in his eyes, 'Thomas, I marvel very much what keeps our good cousin Arundel and the citizens so long.' 'Dear Sire,' replied the Earl, 'if you had followed the counsel of the commons and of the open Parliament, there would have been no occasion for this day.' 'What reason,' said the King, 'had I to put such a lord to death? he had done nothing amiss to me. Besides, I was not King then, what right had I to put him to death; but, by St. George! I promise you, if I encounter him with them now, either he or I shall die.'[1]

His threat to kill Richard, should he meet him.

sand archers and three thousand bill-men, but that when he left London he had with him twenty thousand men; that the lords of the conspiracy entered the castle of Windsor, but, not finding Henry there, they determined with all speed to pass forth to London. They however changed their minds, and returned to the town of Colnbrook, where they tarried. Henry pitched his camp on Hounslow Heath.

[1] The editor hopes that the reader will give some consideration to this remarkable expression, and that he will couple with it the fact that to Creton is traced the authorship of Richard's assassination by Sir Piers Exton,—Creton, the valet de chambre of the court where the Duke of Orleans, after the death of Philippe le Bel, exercised the sovereign power, and desired to strengthen his influence by the marriage of his son with Isabel. It is the editor's opinion that the author never penned the later chapters of this chronicle until several years after Henry's accession. Henry maintained that the Duke of Orleans had excited him to the enterprise upon the crown of England, to mortify (contrarier) the Duke of Burgundy, who was opposed to it. It is right to add, that the MS. 9848 Bibl. du Roi, which I only accidentally discovered after the first part of this work was printed, reads as follows: 'Mais se guerre estoit mene a cause de luy que le conseil de parlement seroit acomply, et si vous promes par Saint George se je puis venir a mon dess^{s}, les traystres en mourront.'

A. D. 1400. He then said he feared not the French, the Scotch, the Irish, nor the English who had armed against him, nor any people in the world but the Flemings;[1] and remarked, that he doubted not they would have received news of our doings, and would be the first to come upon us. He accordingly commanded the mayor to return to the city, to order that none should be so bold to pass the sea, upon pain of being hung. At three o'clock the Lord Fouatre[2] arrived upon a tall charger with a high saddle, bearing the banner of London, which was argent, a cross gules, and with him eight thousand fighting men all on horseback. Upon their arrival there was great rejoicing, and the King called for wine;[3] and, when he had drunk, he handed the cup to the Earl of Warwick, saying, 'Thomas, drink, and don't be afraid; we shall have a glorious day.' Presently the Earl of Arundel arrived, who alighted from his horse and made his reverence to the King, who embraced him, saying, 'Dear cousin, we are glad to see you.' The King drew up his army of twenty thousand men in order of battle, and

Henry draws up his forces in order of battle near Kensington.

[1] The London mob of 1381 had exercised great cruelty to the natives of Flanders. They dragged thirteen out of one church, seventeen out of another, and thirty-two out of the Vintry, and struck off their heads with shouts of triumph and exultation. (Dr. Lingard, Hist. of England.)

[2] Walter Lord Fitzwalter, Constable of Baynard's Castle, hereditary standard-bearer of London. (Carte.) In the 2nd of Henry he challenged the traitorous Rutland; but Henry interfered, and settled their difference. (Rot. Parl. iii. 459.)

[3] It would appear from the ballad of London Lickpenny, composed by John Lydgate, that wine was not then very dear,—a penny per pint:

'The taverner took me by the sleve;
Sir, sayth he, wyll you our wine assay?
I answerd, that can not mutch me greve,
A peny can do no more than it may:
I drank a pynt, and for it dyd pay;
Yet sore a hungerd from thence I yede,
And, wanting my money, I cold not spede.'

ordered the Earl of Rutland to go forwards to reconnoitre his enemies, who were sixteen miles' distance,[1] and to bring him a positive report of them. He then appointed a van-guard of four thousand archers and two hundred lances, in two divisions; giving the command of one to his brother the Marquis, and of the other to Sir Thomas Erpingham, and sending them by different routes. To the rest he gave orders that no person should be so bold as to pass his horse on pain of losing his head, for he wished to be the first to come to blows. When Rutland left the King, he went straight to Colnbrook, where he found the brother of King Richard and the other lords, to whom he gave to understand that King Henry was out of London ready to take the field with two thousand archers; and the lords thought that the King had not even so many men as the Earl had told them, and agreed in council that they should go to Wales or Chester, where they would be strong enough to fight all England. The Earl of Rutland pretended that he was willing to live and die with them. When the lords and their army had passed the two bridges of Maidenhead, four leagues beyond Colnbrook,[2] the two van-guards of King Henry came in sight; and the Earl of Rutland, perceiving that they were so near, returned towards them, crying out 'They all flee,' making pretence that he had had a skirmish with those who passed the bridge: and the lords of King Richard's party perceiving that the

A. D. 1400.

The Earl of Huntingdon and his army at Colnbrook.

They pass Maidenhead Bridges, Monday, 5th Jan.

[1] It must have been in the neighbourhood of Kensington that Henry awaited his reinforcements; from which Colnbrook, where the Duke of Surrey and Richard's friends were, is about sixteen miles distant. The main body of Henry's army then marched to Hounslow, about six miles from Colnbrook, as *MS. Y* reads.

[2] The two bridges of Maidenhead, as is well known, succeed one the other on the main road. Maidenhead was formerly written Maidenheth. (Rot. Pat. 3 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 16.)

A. D. 1400. Monday, 5th January.

Earl of Rutland was against them, held the bridge with the Duke of Surrey, who is called Earl of Kent, and begged the Earl of Huntingdon that he would lead on the army until they had fairly passed Henley and Oxford, and he would hold (the bridge with) those of the rear-guard who were best mounted in spite of them. The van-guard of King Henry could not succeed in passing the bridge of Maidenhead; and the Duke of Surrey skirmished so well that he captured from them two pack-horses, two baggage wagons, and a chariot of the King's; he would not let a single person pass the bridge for three days before King Henry came up:[1] and when he knew that the King had arrived, he and his companions held the bridge bravely till night, and then stole away quietly, taking with him all of the town, both horse and foot, to serve King Richard. The Earl of Huntingdon had already gone on with all the army, clearing the town of its provisions and victuals, that King Henry and his people might not find any. The Duke of Surrey rode with such speed that he reached Oxford the same night; and, after leaving that city, he overtook on the morrow King Richard's brother and the other lords with the people of Woodstock; and they marched to a town called Cirencester. There the army encamped in the fields, but all the lords went to lodge in an inn. These were their names, to wit, the first was a noble knight, the Duke of Surrey Earl of Kent; the second, King Richard's brother, the Duke of Exeter Earl of Huntingdon;[2] and there were the noble Earl

Encounter with Henry's van-guard.

[1] Three hours are perhaps intended.

[2] Walsingham states that the Earl of Huntingdon remained near London, to watch the progress of events. Quiescence was very foreign to the Earl's character. 'I love nothing better than fighting,' said he to the Duke of Lancaster. (Froissart.) And yet, if he had been present at Cirencester, his valour would surely have extricated the lords from the hands of the towns-people. On

of Gloucester Lord Despencer; the Earl of Salisbury, whose name was Montagu, and a worthy knight and baron called Sir Thomas Blount; and there were also Maudeleyn who resembled King Richard, and a knight called Sir Benet Seley.[1] All

A. D. 1400. The Duke of Surrey and other lords at Cirencester, (called by Caxton, as now pronounced, Syssester.)

the other hand, the Rolls of Parliament of the 2nd of Henry IV. declare that he forfeited all his lands and goods, with the other lords, on the 15th of January, the vigil of the Epiphany, 1400. (Rot. Parl. iii. 459.)

[1] That the reader may form an opinion of the comparative power of the nobles of England, I insert a list of the forces that accompanied Richard to Scotland in the ninth year of his reign. It differs from that given by Sir H. Nicolas in the Archæologia, vol. xxii, in several instances, and the proportion of men-at-arms and archers would appear more probable.

Latin MS. 6049, Bibl. du Roi. f. 30.

Ordenances de les troys batailles et des deux esles du bataille du Roy a son pm' viage en Escoce lan de son regne noefisme.

En lavant garde.

	Hommes darmes.	Arch'rs.
Mons^{r} de Lancastre . . .	1050	3050
Le Conte de Bukyngh'm (afterwards Duke of Gloucester)	400	800
Le Conte Mareschall et de Notyngh'm .	200	300

En la bataille du Roy.

Le Tynell du Roy . . .	800	2050
Mons^{r} de Cantebrigg (afterwards Duke of York)	150	200
Le Conte Darundell . . .	140	300
Le Conte de Warrewyk . .	140	300
Le Conte de Stafford . . .	140	200
Le Conte de Oxenford . . .	140	200
Le Conte de Sar' . . .	50	120
Le Chanceler . . .	60	80
Le Tresorer	40	40
Le Garde du Prive Seal . .	30	30
Le Seneschall du lostell du Roy . .	30	30
Le S' du Roos . . .	20	30
Le S' de Beaumont . . .	30	40
Le S' de Wylughby . . .	50	60
Mons' John Lovell, Wm. Bostreaux, De Seymo^{r}	100	200
Mons' John Devõs . . .	50	80
Mons' Symon Burley . . .	20	30
Le Sire de Fferers de Groby . .	20	30
——— Haryngton . . .	30	60
Mons' Thom' Tryuet . . .	20	20
—— Mahew Gournay . .	20	20
—— Aubrey de Veer . . .	20	20

Levesq' Deverwyk—venoit a põ lordenance fait.

A. D. 1400. The lords of Richard's party at Cirencester, Tuesday night, January 6th. (See Fœdera, 28th Nov. 1400.)

these lords were lodged in one inn, with many other knights and esquires whom I do not at all know: and, whilst they were all lodged within the town of Cirencester, their people and their army remained in the fields without a captain; which was great marvel, for the flower of all England was there. Whilst the lords were stopping in the inn, where they thought they were in safe quarters, the Duke of Surrey ordered the constable of the town to be ready (*with the towns-people*) at break of day all armed, both foot and horse, to succour King Richard. After this order had been given, there arrived one of King Henry's archers, who went to lodge in the inn where all the said lords were, and had a fire lighted in a room to himself. The Duke of Surrey knew that one of King Henry's archers was lodged in the house, and went to speak to him, and asked him what part he came from. The archer replied, 'My lord, I come from the parts of Wales, whither I have been sent by King Henry.' The Duke of Surrey then took the badge

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	Hommes darmes.	Arch'rs.
En la ele dextre.		
Mons' de Cantebrigg . . .	100	200
Lovell, Botreaux, Seymour . .	100	200
Le Sire de Wilughby . . .	50	60
En la ele sinistre.		
Le Conte de Warrewyk . .	140	300
———— Stafford . . .	120	20
Le Chanceler	60	80
En la regarde.		
Le Conte de Northumbr' . .	400	400
———— Devenschire . .	60	60
Le Sire de Nevill . . .	200	300
Mons' Henr' Percy . . .	100	100
Le Sire de Clyfford . . .	40	60
Le Sire de la Zouche de Haryngworth .	39	30
Mons' Amory Senct-Amant . .	16	24
Le Sire de Berkele . . .	24	30
Mons' Tho^{s} Percy leisne . .	60	60

Levesq' de Duresme—venoit a pour lordenance.

he wore on his arm and cast it into the fire, saying he did it in spite of Henry of Lancaster; 'and you, traitor rascal! are come here as a spy, for which you shall be quickly drawn and hung in spite of your master.' The Duke sent for the constable of the town,[1] and ordered him to have the archer quickly drawn and hung, who told the lords he would do so shortly; but he took the archer into his house, and gave him meat and drink. But the archer said to the constable, 'I beseech and beg of you, for the sake of King Henry, that you give me a respite until the Duke of Surrey has spoken to King Henry, to know whether this army be under his command or no.' The constable, being thus requested by the archer,[2] A. D. 1400. 6th January.

[1] To John Cosin, of Cirencester, to whom the present lord the King granted 100 marks yearly, to be received at the Exchequer during his life, &c., for the good service performed by the said John in manfully resisting at Cirencester Thomas late Earl of Kent, and others, who had traitorously risen against the said King and his allegiance, a payment of 11*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, on account. Issue Rolls, Mich. 1 Hen. IV.

[2] It is plain from the context that the constable considered the archer to have brought him express orders from Henry. We learn from Rymer, (Fœdera, Merks' pardon, Nov. 28th, 1400,) that the men of Wantage and Farringdon in Berkshire, and Bampton in Oxfordshire, also rose in favour of Henry. Froissart states the number of his partisans assembled at Cirencester at 2000. Henry had considerable property in the neighbourhood: the hamlet of Shifford in the parish of Bampton, and a part of the adjoining parish of Stanlake, descended to him from Henry son of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, by whose daughter and sole heir Blanch they came into the possession of John of Gaunt. Gaunt House is still standing at Stanlake, surrounded by its original moat. It is not generally known that Old Shifford, formerly called Sifford or Skipford, is the venerated spot where was held the first Wittenagemote by Alfred, about the time he founded University College, Oxford; and not long after, in 977, the great council of Kyrtlington, where were present King Edward the Martyr, St. Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sidemannus, Bishop of Crediton. I think that Kyrtlington is the same with Micclantun, now called Ducklington, a hamlet adjoining Shifford. Dr. Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, ed. 1677, fol. 22, gives his reasons for this statement; and gives from a Saxon MS. of the Cottonian Library, which he describes as fol. c. p. 173, but which I much fear perished in the fire at Oxford, the follow-

A. D. 1400. 6th January. The Constable of Cirencester arrests the Duke of Surrey.

immediately went to assemble all the men of the town, who numbered full sixty archers; and then proceeded to the inn where the lords were, and said to the Duke of Surrey, 'My lord, I arrest you on the part of King Henry, and command that none of you be so bold as to depart out of the house without his permission.' Upon which the Duke of Surrey gave him a cuff, saying, 'Rascal! how is it you are so bold to arrest us? you shall be hung to-morrow morning as soon as it is light. Villain! here is King Richard who is our sovereign King; how is it you dare speak so proudly? beg the King's pardon.' But the constable would not, upon which the Earl gave him another cuff. And thus began the scuffle between the lords and the men of Cirencester, which was a great pity; for the constable called out to the townsmen, 'I command you in the name of King Henry to go and seize these lords, who are all enemies of my lord the King.' The assault then began; they shot their arrows thickly, and at the first flight killed the Duke of Surrey Earl of Kent. The Earl of Salisbury fought till he was overpowered and killed.[1] When King Richard's brother, the Earl

Death of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury.

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ing account of the Wittenagemote: 'There sat at Shifford many thanes, many bishops, and many learned men, wise earls, and awful knights. There was Earl Elfrick, very learned in the law, and Alfred, England's herdsman, England's darling; he was King of England; he taught them that could hear him how they should live.' The rising ground of the 'Court close' at Old Shifford forms a natural amphitheatre; and the 'Kinsay field,' and other local traditions, preserve the remembrance of the event. (See Rev. C. Hawtrey Vicar of Bampton's Various Opinions of the Philosophical Reformers considered, 1792; and Dugdale, Monast. article Eynsham.)

[1] The account of Walsingham is, that the Earls of Kent and Salisbury were made prisoners, were placed in the abbey, and would have been sent to Henry; but, when the townsmen found that their town had been set on fire, they dragged the earls out into the market-place and beheaded them.

Henry gave the men of Cirencester all their goods and chattels, as well as those of the other rebels whom they resisted. (Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5, 36.) He also

of Huntingdon, the Earl of Gloucester Lord De- A. D. 1400.
spencer, and Maudeleyn who resembled King Richard, saw that the men of the city pressed them so hard to seize them and put them to death, it is true that these three lords jumped out of a window, left the house, and went to set fire to two or three houses in the town; for they imagined that the villeins of the town would then leave off the attack upon the lords, who were placed in great danger: for the steps of the house were so narrow that they could only defend themselves two and two at a time; and some of the villeins had got within the house, and the fifty archers outside drew so fast that the lords could not put their heads out of the room to defend themselves. And when the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Gloucester, and Maudeleyn saw that the villeins took no account of the fire, and that they continued the attack to kill or take the lords, they ran off to the fields, where they thought to find their army and their people; but they did not find them, Dispersion of Richard's followers.
for seeing the town on fire, and thinking King Henry was come, they all fled towards Scotland. The Earl of Huntingdon found his steward with about a dozen horses, and immediately mounted, and went away towards Essex to flee from the kingdom; and the Lord Despencer fled towards Wales, his own country; and

ordered them to receive four does and a hogshead of wine annually, besides six does and a hogshead of wine for the women of Cirencester. (Fœdera.) The gallant Earl of Kent was but twenty-five years of age when he met with his premature death. His uncle, King Richard, had left him the handsome legacy of 10,000*l.* in the will which he made just before his last expedition to Ireland. He had given him, in 1396, an annuity of ten pounds per annum (Rot. Pat. 30 Nov. 20 Ric. II. p. 1.); also in 1398 all the lands of the late Earl of March in Ireland. (Rot. Pat. 22 Sep. 20 R. II.) The worthy and accomplished Earl of Salisbury was told he would rue the day that he ever went to Paris, as Richard's ambassador, to oppose Henry's marriage with Mary the daughter of the Duke of Berry. He went with great reluctance, but Richard required him to do so on his allegiance.

A. D. 1400. 7th January. Maudeleyn thought to go to Scotland. The lords who remained in the town of Cirencester held the house bravely, and defended themselves valiantly until the morrow morning at eight o'clock, when they were forced to surrender. There were captured Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Benet (*Shelley*), and thirty other knights and esquires;[1] whom they bound securely together, and led them away on foot by the side of their horses, which the villeins rode. When the lords were captured, the townspeople cut off the heads of the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury, and stuck them on long poles; and in this manner carried them from Cirencester to Oxford, where they found King Henry at Oxford. King Henry lodging in the abbey of the Carmelites, without the town, to whom they brought the heads and the prisoners. The King commanded his chamberlain, Sir Thomas Erpingham, to have justice executed upon the lords who were taken prisoners, and to put them all to death, except a young knight whom he had dubbed the Saturday before his coronation, whom the King pardoned for rising in arms against him, on account of his youth and noble lineage. Sir Thomas Blount and Sir Benet[2] (*Shelley*) were drawn

[1] Amongst those captured was Sir Ralph Lumley, 'from the northern parts.' The men of Cirencester beheaded him there on the Thursday, the third day after the Epiphany. (Monk of Evesham; Cotton. MS. Tiberius C. ix.; and London Chronicle.)

[2] Sir Benedict or Benet Sely or Shelley appears to have been a naval commander. In the Gascon Rolls (12 Ric. II. 26 Dec.) is a safe-conduct for several Spaniards taken prisoners upon the sea by Benedict Sely. He had also been Marshal of Richard's household, and the King had bestowed upon him an annuity of forty pounds a year. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. p. 1. 7th Dec.) Henry after his accession had confirmed to him the possession of the priory of Chepstow. (Rot. Pat. 1 Henry IV. p. 2. m. 4.) Sir Thomas Blount, who is named, and not undeservedly, with such respect by the chronicler, was a military knight of considerable eminence. He was appointed to review the men of arms and archers at Dover, about to embark for Calais 30 Ap. 1389. (Rot. Franc. 12 Ric. II.) The chroniclers do not mention of what county he was. I find a Sir Thos. Blount, a sheriff of Bristol, from Michaelmas 1399 to 1400 (Pipe Rolls); and another knight, of the same

from Oxford unto the place of execution, a long league or more, and there they were hung; they then cut them down and made them speak, and placed them before a large fire. Then came the executioner with a razor in his hand, and kneeling down before Sir Thomas Blount, who had his hands tied, begged his forgiveness for putting him to death, for he was obliged to perform his office. 'Are you he,' said Sir Thomas, 'who will deliver me from this world?' The executioner replied, 'Yes, my lord; I beg you to pardon me.' The lord then kissed him and forgave him. The executioner had with him a small basin and a razor, and, kneeling between the fire and the lords, unbuttoned Sir Thomas Blount, and ripped open his stomach, and tied the bowels with a piece of whipcord that the breath of the heart might not escape, and cast the bowels into the fire. As Sir Thomas was thus seated before the fire, his bowels burning before him, Sir Thomas Erpingham said, 'Now go and seek a master who will cure you.' Sir Thomas Blount placed his hands together, saying, 'Te Deum laudamus! Blessed be the hour when I was born, and blessed be this day, for I die this day in the service of my sovereign lord King Richard.'[1] After he had thus spoken, Sir Thomas Erpingham asked him, 'Who

A.D. 1400. Execution of Sir Thomas Blount and Sir Benet Sely (or Shelley).

name, was executed at Tyburn with five others of the household of the Duke of Exeter for his allegiance to the same party in 1400; but he was of the county of Kent. (Chron. of the White Rose.)

[1] The unshaken constancy of the loyal knight, and the brutality of Sir Thomas Erpingham, are here depicted in a homely but graphic manner. Richard on the 21st of August, after his capture, had appointed Erpingham (by compulsion, it must be presumed) Constable of Dover castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. (Rot. Pat. 23 Ric. II. 21 August, Nantwich.) Henry appointed him his chamberlain (Knyghton), and rewarded him with the towns of Barking, Ilford, and Dabenham, 'pro herbergagio et hospitatione suis et servientium suorum.' (Fœdera, 28 Oct. 1399.) In his old age, Sir Thomas Erpingham shot the first arrow at the battle of Azencourt. Henry paid him sixteen pounds for a sparrow-hawk, 14th Dec. 1401. (Pell Rolls.)

A. D. 1400. are the lords, knights, and esquires who are of your accord and treason?' To which the good knight replied, suffering as he was, 'Art thou the traitor Erpingham? Thou art more false than I am or ever was; and thou liest, false knight as thou art; for, by the death which I must suffer, I never spake ill of any knight, lord, or esquire, nor of anybody in the world: but thou utteredst thy false spleen like a false and disloyal traitor; for by thee, and by the false traitor the Earl of Rutland, the noble knighthood of England is destroyed. Cursed be the hour when thou and he were born! I pray to God to pardon my sins: and thou traitor Rutland, and thou false Erpingham, I call you both to answer before the face of Jesus Christ for the great treason that you two have committed against our sovereign lord noble King Richard, and against his noble knighthood.' The executioner then asked him if he would drink. 'No,' he replied, 'you have taken away wherein to put it, thank God!' and then he begged the executioner to deliver him from this world, for it did him harm to see the traitors. The executioner kneeled down, and, Sir Thomas having kissed him, the executioner cut off his head and quartered him; and he did the same to the other lords, and parboiled the quarters. And in Oxford castle many other knights and esquires[1] were beheaded.

King Henry sends the heads of the insurgents to London.

Item. In the year thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen, the sixteenth day of January, being the ninth day after the Kings, and a Wednesday,[2] came a fine

[1] Thomas Wintershull, esq. and about twenty-seven persons were beheaded at Oxford. (London Chronicle.) Amongst them were John Walsh and Baldwin of Kent, esqs. One John Ferrour was there tried and convicted of treason; but Henry pardoned him, on account of his having saved his life from the mob who murdered Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury in 1381, and burnt his father's palace in the Savoy. (Plac. Cor. in Cast. Oxon.)

[2] The 16th day of January was a Friday. There must have been an error in the MSS., as the following Monday is correctly called the 19th day of the month. (See p. 256.)

present sent by King Henry to the city of London; that is to say, eight heads with their quarters, and twelve living gentlemen, prisoners, bound with whip-cord and led between the villeins. The head of the Duke of Surrey was carried first and upon the highest pole, and before it went the greatest part of the trumpeters and minstrels of the country; and the men of London made great rejoicings. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with eighteen bishops, and thirty-two mitred abbots, besides the other prelates, went in procession, all mitred, and wearing their ecclesiastical robes, to meet the present sent by King Henry to the Londoners; and they chanted 'Te Deum laudamus,' while the people cheered, and shouted out unanimously, 'God preserve and bless our lord King Henry and my lord the Prince!' The Archbishop then went to St. Paul's, where they chanted in chorus 'Te Deum laudamus,' and afterwards the Archbishop preached a sermon. On the Thursday following King Henry entered London, and was received with great rejoicing by all the people of the city, who left their work of every kind, and put on their armour. When King Henry arrived at St. Paul's, the mother church of London, all the prelates of the realm of England came to meet him, singing 'Te Deum laudamus,' as they had done the day before, and the Archbishop sprinkled him with holy water. Then said King Henry to the prelates, as he sat quietly upon his horse, 'By St. George! 'twere a fine sight to see us all here assembled, provided we were all true and faithful one towards another, for certainly there are some traitors amongst us; but I vow to God that I will gather up the weeds and will clear my garden of them, and will sow good plants, until my garden shall be all clean within my ditches and walls, unless some of you repent.' On the

A. D. 1100. 16th Jan.

His triumphal entrance into London.

A. D. 1400. Friday following the King went in procession throughout the city of London, with all the clergy and the lords who went before him, while the commonalty of the city followed: and, when the procession came partly out into the fields, he began to speak as follows; 'I thank you, both little and great, for the kindness and great honour you have done me; I shall be always bound to the people of London, and, upon my word, you will always find me a good and faithful servant.' He said moreover, 'My lord and uncle never carried war so far or so long, but, please God, I will carry it farther, or I will die in the attempt.' Then they all shouted with one voice 'God preserve our lord King Henry, and God bless my lord the Prince!' Thus said all who were there present.

King Henry's speech to the citizens of London.

Item. It is true that on the day of the Kings, when King Henry had taken the field, without London, with all his people who were about to combat the lords who had risen to support King Richard, he commanded a knight, called Sir Peter Exton,[1] to go and deliver straightway from this world John of London, called Richard,[2] for it behoved that the sentence of Parliament should be accomplished. The knight, having taken leave of King Henry, rode to the castle, where he found King Richard confined,[3] who was

Henry sends Sir P. Exton to put Richard to death, 6th January.

[1] 'There was a lord mayor, one of Richard's opposers, called Sir Thomas Exton.' (Miss Strickland, Queens of England, iii. 29.) I have not yet met with his name; but I find a Nicholas Exton one of the collectors of the customs and subsidies of the King in the port of London. (Pipe Rolls, 1 Henry IV.)

[2] The nickname of John of London, given to Richard, alludes to the report spread by Henry that Richard was the illegitimate son of the Princess of Wales by a canon of Bordeaux; (see Froissart;) but Mezeray remarks, that that reproach might have been cast upon Henry with more reason, seeing that the Queen his mother, on her death-bed, had confessed to a bishop that she had substituted him in the place of her true son, whom she had suffocated by accident, charging him, on his conscience, to discover the secret if he saw that he were likely to inherit the crown. (Mezeray, 983, fo. Paris, 1643.)

[3] It must be borne in mind that

seated at table awaiting his dinner; and Sir Peter called King Richard's esquire tranchant, and forbad him on the part of King Henry to dare to taste any more the King's meat; (*saying*,) 'he might let him eat alone if he chose, for he should never eat again.' The esquire returned to the room where King Richard was seated, who was unwilling to eat because he was left alone, and his esquire would not perform his office as usual. 'What is the news?' said the King. The esquire replied; 'I know of none except that Sir Peter Exton is come; what tidings he has brought them I know not.' King Richard then begged the esquire to carve him some meat and to taste it, as was his duty. The esquire went down upon his knees before the table, and, begging King Richard's pardon, hoped he would excuse him, for they had forbidden him by King Henry's order; upon which King Richard went into a passion, and, seizing one of the table-knives, struck the esquire

A. D. 1400. Sir Peter Exton.

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the author represents Richard as a prisoner in a castle in Kent. Froissart and the foreign chroniclers state he was confined in the Tower of London. Richard was, however, confined in Pontefract or Pomfret castle, Yorkshire. That murderous den, where, first, its owner, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, was put to death by Edward II., where, afterwards, the innocent Earl of Rivers and Sir Richard Grey were murdered, and where, in 1483, Sir Richard Vaughan was beheaded, was built by Hildebert Lacy, a Norman, to whom William the Conqueror gave this town. In the Lansd. MS. 213, f. 319, quoted by Mr. Wright in the Appendix to the alliterative poem edited by him for the Camden Society, there is an account of a visit paid by three military men to Pontefract in 1634. They remark, 'The Exton story was received in England two centuries ago; and in a round tower, the highest of seven which then existed, is shewn a post upon which the cruel hackings and fury blows do still remain.' Mr. King, an eminent antiquary, has shewn, however, that the room where Richard was confined is a very narrow wretched chamber, formed in the thickness of the wall, which has two very small narrow windows next the court. Here tradition says Richard II. was confined and murdered. (Archæol. vi. 311.) In this room there would be scarcely room for the enactment of the drama. It is worthy of remark that Charles d'Orleans was also imprisoned here by Henry V. in 1417, on the rising of the Earl of Cambridge.

A. D. 1400. on the head with it, exclaiming, 'Cursed be Henry of Lancaster and thou!' As he uttered these words, in rushed Sir Peter Exton to the room where King Richard was, with seven men, each man having a lance in his hand. It is true that King Richard, perceiving Sir Peter Exton and his seven armed men, put the table back from him, and, springing in the midst of them, wrung an axe from the hands of one of them who came there to murder him; with which King Richard right valiantly and vigorously defended himself, and in so doing slew four out of the eight men; when Sir Peter leaped upon the chair where King Richard usually sat at meals whilst he was in prison, where he awaited, his axe in his hand, till the King came near to him. The King defended himself so well that it was great marvel how he could so long make head against them, for they were all armed; but King Richard defended himself right vigorously like a good and loyal knight, till at last in defending himself he retreated towards the chair where Sir Peter Exton was, who gave him his death-blow, for he smote him such a blow on his head that King Richard fell backwards on the ground. The King exclaimed, 'Lord, have mercy on me!' after which he gave him yet another blow on his head. And thus died noble King Richard without confession, which was a great pity, and he that saith otherwise doth not speak discreetly. When the King was dead, the knight who had given him his death-blow went to sit him down beside the corpse, and began to weep, saying, 'Alas! what is that we have done? we have murdered him who has been our sovereign lord the space of twenty-two years. Now I have lost mine honour, and I shall never go into any country but I shall be reminded of it.' On the morrow the corpse of King Richard was carried to Pomfret, and there

Richard's vigorous resistance.

His death.

was he interred like a poor gentleman.[1] God have mercy on him! A. D. 1400.

When the court of justice was over at Oxford, and Sir Thomas Blount was put to death, King Henry sent the Earl of Rutland and Sir Thomas Erpingham to seize the Lord Despencer who was (*formerly*) Earl of Gloucester,[2] who took him and beheaded him; and the Earl of Rutland sent his head also to London. The Duke of Exeter Earl of Huntingdon, King Richard's brother, and Sir Thomas Shelley,[3] a worthy knight, who had been his steward of the household, fled

Death of the Lord Despencer.

[1] The inconsistency of this account is manifest. What reason was there for taking Richard's corpse from Kent to Pomfret, and then bringing it back to London? And yet on the sole authority of this fabricated account rests the story of Richard's murder by Sir Piers Exton. The corpse that was shewn to the people as that of Richard was buried at Langley, after its exhibition in St. Paul's in March, ten weeks after the date of his flight or death. An examination of the skull by Mr. Gough has proved that it was not fractured. The interment was a hasty one; there was no assemblage of people, Richard's enemies were chosen to inter the corpse, and the usual dinner or supper after the funeral was dispensed with!

[2] Thomas Despencer, son of Edward Lord Despencer, although he excused himself for the part he had taken on the plea of compulsion (Rot. Parl. iii. 451), was yet degraded from his title of Earl of Gloucester by Henry in his first Parliament. He escaped over the roofs of some houses at Cirencester, and fled to his castle of Cardiff. Hearing that King Henry had despatched a party to bring him to London, willing or unwilling, he disposed his affairs in the best manner he could, and, taking with him his jewels, entered a boat in the Severn; but, when they had reached the middle of the river, the captain refused to carry him anywhere but to Bristol. An altercation then commenced; twenty armed men, concealed in the hold, rushed upon deck; he defended himself manfully, and wounded some of the sailors, but was overpowered, and carried to the mayor of Bristol. Henry wished to have had an interview with him before he was put to death; but the second day after his capture the people cried out, 'Bring forth the traitors!' and, the mayor having failed to appease them, he was beheaded before the market-cross. His body was buried in the choir at Tewkesbury. (Monk of Evesham, Cotton. MS. Tiberius C. ix.) Henry gave to William Flaxman the cloak of motley velvet and furred damask which Lord Despencer wore when he was captured. (Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. m. 8.)

[3] The Earl of Huntingdon made several attempts to escape with his followers by sea to France, but was always driven back by stress of weather. (Sir J. Hay-

A. D. 1400. into Essex, into a small town where dwelt the Countess of Hereford, the sister of the late Earl of Arundel, who had been beheaded in the great Parliament; and they went to lodge in the house where they had been accustomed to stop when they went that way;[1] and the Countess, having received information that the Earl of Huntingdon had arrived, ordered the constable of the town to collect secretly all the townsmen to seize him and all his people, for she wished to take vengeance upon him for the cause of her brother.

Capture of the Earl of Huntingdon, Jan. 15th, at Prithwell. (Caxton, Polycron.)

The constable accordingly did as he was commanded, and captured the Earl of Huntingdon, as well as his knight and his butler, of the name of Hugh Cade. The greater part of the knights and esquires of the Earl's army were taken here and there in different

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ward, Life of Henry IV.) Richard had given to Sir Thomas Shelley the goods and chattels of Roger Nele of Toppesham, forfeited to him. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. p. 1. 23rd Oct.) After his execution, Henry gave the mayor of London two of Sir Thomas Shelley's mantles, with doublets of red velvet, &c. (Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV. 14th April.)

[1] The Earl was captured at the house of John Pritelwell or Pritewell, at Pritelwell, Essex, on the Thames, and was thence taken by the people of the country to the Countess of Hereford at Pleshey. (See Appendix A.) Walsingham says, he was taken on the festival of St. Maur (Jan. 15th) towards evening. It does not appear whether the Countess had Henry's order for the execution of the Earl. Sir Harris Nicolas quotes William of Malmesbury to prove that the ancient Earls had a power of legislation within their counties (Life of Chaucer, i. 157); and as late as the reign of Henry the Sixth we find the great Earls beheading prisoners taken in battle. But an order of council was issued by Henry to stop such irregular proceedings, and to bring the parties offending to justice. The following is the reason stated: 'Considering that the commons of the country, on account of the destruction of the Earls of Kent, of Salisbury, and of Huntingdon, and of the Lord le Despencer, and other traitors to the King, have become so proud, that they fear not to put to death of their own will many of the King's lieges without process of law.' (Minutes of Council, Feb. 1400.) Henry gave the goods and chattels of the Earl to Richard Spicer of Plymouth, and others. (Rot. Claus. 30th Mar. 1 Hen. IV.) No less than eleven commissioners were appointed to take into the King's hands the property of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, Sir Ralph Lumley, and Sir Thomas Blount. (Pell of Issue Rolls, Jan. 1400.)

parts of the country, for they did not know which way to turn nor where to go. The Countess[1] sent a letter to King Henry to acquaint him that she had seized the Earl of Huntingdon, and to beg him to send his cousin of Arundel to take vengeance upon him for the death of his father, for she was determined to have him drawn and hung. Then the King sent the Earl of Arundel thither, and said, 'Cousin, go to your aunt, and fetch the prisoners dead or alive.' When the Earl of Arundel arrived at the town where the Earl of Huntingdon was taken, he found there his aunt, and eight thousand or more of the villeins of the country, before whom his aunt had led forth the Earl of Huntingdon to put him to death; and there was not one of the villeins present who did not take compassion on him. After the Earl of Arundel had alighted, and saluted his aunt, he said to the Earl of Huntingdon, 'Sir, what say you? Do not you repent that by your counsel you were the cause of my father being put to death,—that you have so long retained my possessions, and have so badly governed my sister? And from sheer poverty I was obliged to leave the kingdom secretly, and to dwell abroad, where I should have starved if it had not been for my cousin the

A. D. 1400.

The young Earl of Arundel overwhelms him with reproaches.

[1] Joan, widow of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford, Lord Constable of England, mother of Mary de Bohun, the first wife of Henry IV., who died in 1394. This extraordinary woman, sister to the Earl of Arundel executed by Richard, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury whom he had banished, and mother to Alcanora Duchess of Gloucester, was completely identified by all the ties of relationship with Henry and his party. Imbued with the feelings of chivalry, she, like our Queen Philippa, the Countess of Salisbury, and some others, was equal, in case of emergency, to daring exploits, at the heads of armies. (See Froissart, i. 77, 81, 134, 137, 139.) Humanity, in its nobler meaning, was, however, without the circle of the sympathies of chivalry. She appears to have acted a mother's part to Henry's children after they had lost their natural protector. Henry V. bequeathed to Thomas Bishop of Durham 'the missal and portophorium which we had of the gift of our dear grandmother the Countess of Hereford.' He also bequeathed her 'a gold cyphus.' But she did not survive him. She died on the 7th of April 1416.

A. D. 1400. Count of Gueldres. Rascal! do you not remember that I have many a time taken off and blacked your shoes when you were an esquire, and you behaved to me as if I had been your drudge? But now I will be well revenged for all this, and for the spite which your lord and master and you have shewn to my sister and me.'[1] The Earl of Huntingdon was then led forth before the people, his hands tied, who said, 'For God's sake have pity on me, for I never did any harm to you or yours; for God's sake have mercy!' There was not one of all present who would have done him any harm, except the Countess and the Earl of Arundel; all the rest had compassion on him. The Countess exclaimed, 'Cursed be ye all, ye villeins! have you not courage enough amongst you all to put a man to death?' Upon which an esquire came forward to behead the Earl of Huntingdon, King Richard's brother. The Countess gave him his orders, and he went up to the Earl of Huntingdon, his axe in his hand, and bending the knee said, 'My lord, forgive me your death; my lady commands me to deliver you.' The Earl went down on his knees, his hands being tied, and said to him, 'My friend, are you he who will deliver me from this world?' The man said, 'Yes, by my lady's orders.' The Earl said, 'My dear friend, why would you take away from me the life which God has given me? I never wronged you nor your parents; and I plainly perceive that there are here seven thousand persons and more who have no wish to do me any harm.[2] Alas! my friend, how

Execution of the Earl of Huntingdon.

[1] To the Earl of Huntingdon had been committed by Richard the custody of the young Earl of Arundel. He, however, managed to escape to the Continent. (See note, p. 160.)

[2] The Earl, doubtless, recollected the frequent risings of the villeins, or 'naifs,' to the number of eight thousand at a time, against their lords. Their oppression had made them bold; they even subscribed to a common purse, and frequently contested their freedom in a court of law. The Earl might not have been

can you find it in your heart to deprive me of the life which God has given me? for God's sake consider; and come, kiss me, I forgive you.' The Earl then shed a few tears, and said, 'Alas! if I had but gone to Rome when our holy father the Pope sent for me to be his marshal, by Saint Mary, I should not have been in this plight! Alas! I had the desire to go, but it is now too late. I beg of God to pardon my sins.' When the man heard the Earl's complaint, he was so affected that he shook with fear, and returned to the Countess and said, 'Madam, I could not put such a nobleman to death for all the gold in the world.' 'You shall do what you have promised,' said the lady, 'or I will have your head taken off.' When the man heard these words, he was seized with such fear that he knew not what to do, and he said, 'My lord, I ask your pardon; forgive me your death.' The Duke went down on his knees, and said, 'Alas! is there no help for it? must I die?'[1] Then I pray to God, to the blessed Virgin Mary, and to all A. D. 1400.

without hope that they would rise in his favour. For details on this subject, consult the Rolls of Parliament, iii. 21, 212, 296.

[1] Carte doubts whether the Earl of Huntingdon was executed at Pleshy, as there was an order made out to the Constable of the Tower of London to receive him. (Fœdera, Jan. 10, 1400.) Orders to constables of castles to receive prisoners do not *necessarily* prove their presence. There are instances of orders having been issued to the constables of far distant places to receive the same prisoner on the same day. The Earl may possibly have been first confined in the Tower; but nearly all the chroniclers describe his execution at Pleshy.

'Therle also of Huntingdon did flee,
And brought unto the Countess of Estate,
Of Herforde then, who had hym forth algate
To Plasshe, where she made men hym hede,
Without counsayll of any lord or rede.'
(Hardyng's Chronicle.)

Otterbourne, another contemporary chronicler, and the Monk of Evesham, relate his execution also at Pleshy; and Hall and Hayward insinuate that his execution at Pleshy was a judgment upon him for the part he had taken in the execution of Gloucester, who had a seat there.

A. D. 1400. the saints in Paradise, that they will have mercy upon me, and pardon all my sins when I am dead. I beseech you, for God's sake, to deliver me easily from this world.' The executioner then raised his axe, and struck him so heavy a blow on the shoulder, that he fell with his face to the ground; which was most piteous to behold. As soon as the executioner had recovered his axe, the lord sprung upon his feet and said, 'Alas, man! how could you do so? for God's sake deliver me easily.' He then gave him eight strokes on the shoulder, for he did not know how to strike at the neck nor the head; and the ninth blow struck him on the neck, when the nobleman spoke, saying, 'Alas! why do you do so? Thank God!'[1] They then separated his head from his body with a knife; and thus was put to death the Duke of Exeter Earl of Huntingdon, brother of noble King Richard.

The head of the Earl of Huntingdon sent to London, 19th Jan.

The Earl of Arundel caused his head to be placed on the top of a high pole: the knight was bound hands and feet, and brought on horseback; and the butler was bound, and trotted on foot to London; where they arrived Monday the nineteenth day of January, about the hour of dinner. The minstrels and trumpeters of the Earl of Arundel preceded the head of the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl himself came last with all his people; and the men of London made great rejoicings, and all cried with one voice, 'God bless King Henry, and God save the Prince and all his council!' The very same day arrived the Earl of Rutland, preceded by minstrels and trumpeters, who caused to be carried before him the head of the Lord Despencer Earl of Gloucester upon a long pole; and the twelve prisoners, brought in two carts, were all taken to the Tower

[1] *MS. Le Beau* reads 'for after every blow he spoke, and said, "Hée! Dieu mercy."'

of London. The Earl of Rutland[1] followed the prisoners with a great company of men-at-arms and archers. The King gave orders that the heads should

A. D. 1400.

The heads of Huntingdon and Despencer placed on London bridge.

[1] After the recital of the Earl of Huntingdon's execution, Le Beau makes the following comment upon the Earl of Rutland's conduct, in which there is much of truth. 'I declare, that, of all those who were guilty of treason towards one King or the other, there was none who turned so often, first to one side, then to the other, as the Earl of Rutland; and yet he was reinstated in the favour of King Henry. For, first, he forsook King Richard, and went over to Henry of Lancaster when he came over from France; taking with him the Duke of York his father, in whom King Richard so much confided, as is before narrated. In the next place, when the Earl of Huntingdon, the Duke of Surrey, and the other lords met together in the room at Westminster with the Abbot, when they swore to assist King Richard even to death, then the Earl of Rutland had turned with them against King Henry, as it appears by the letter that the Duke of York his father unfortunately saw; and in consequence the Earl flew to King Henry, confessed all, and begged mercy; and by him alone was their enterprise foiled. Again, he acted with King Henry when he raised men to join the lords, who considered him on their side: and, when King Henry had taken the field, he sent the Earl of Rutland forward to gain intelligence of his enemies; and the said Earl went straight to Colnbrook where they were assembled, and made them believe that he was come to support them, as had been agreed upon, and by his own zeal; and he told them that Henry Duke of Lancaster was plainly out of London, with perhaps two thousand archers. In this he betrayed them, for he had more than sixteen thousand men. He then acted with them as one of their party, and was well received by them; but he had informed against them and betrayed them to King Henry: and when these lords came to the bridge of Maidenhead, they perceived King Henry's van-guard, who pursued them hotly. And directly that the Earl of Rutland saw them, he and his lords departed without saying a word, and went to King Henry, and told him that he had had a long skirmish with the Earl of Huntingdon and his people at the bridge; and yet he had agreed to live and die with them. And therefore I maintain, that, of all the English lords, there was not one who forfeited his honour like the Earl of Rutland; yet he remained in his office near King Henry, whilst many brave, loyal, and worthy men were put to a shameful death.'

In contrast to this sketch of Rutland, compare that of Sir J. Hayward. Speaking of Edmund Duke of York he says, 'He left behind him two noble sons, express resemblances of his integrity. Edward, in the change of the state, neither constantly kept his fidelity, nor stoutly maintained his treason.' (!!) (Life of Henry IV. 16mo. 1642.)

Rutland, however, made some compensation to his country by his valiant death at Azencourt, where he solicited and obtained the command of the van.

A. D. 1400. be placed on London bridge; and all the Londoners made very great rejoicings, and cried with one voice, 'God save our lord King Henry, and my lord the Prince! Now we will wage war with all the world except with Flanders.' The late Archbishop of Canterbury, who was called Walden, and the good Bishop of Carlisle, were brought from the precincts (franchises) of Westminster, and lodged in the Tower of London. A country swain, who kept sheep, arrested Maudeleyn, the chaplain of King Richard, and who so much resembled him, and he was imprisoned at London.[1] The Abbot of Westminster was also taken, and all his goods; and was first imprisoned at four short leagues' distance from London; afterwards he was placed in the Tower of London.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Carlisle sent to the Tower.

The Abbot of Westminster committed to the Tower.

Their trial on Wednesday, 4th February.

ITEM. The Wednesday after Candlemas, at break of day, the Earl of Arundel attended the court of justice of King Henry in the castle of London; and the judges ordered to be brought before them three prelates, two priests, and two knights: to wit, the first was Walden Archbishop of Canterbury; the second, the Bishop of Carlisle; the third, the Abbot of Westminster; the fourth, Master John Derby,[2] receiver of Lincoln; the fifth, Maudeleyn; the sixth, Sir Bernard Brocas,[3] a

[1] Chastelain, having mistaken the word cure (curé) for cœur, has given us the following ludicrous version, 'A country shepherd who tended his sheep fell in love with Maudeleyn.' (*MS. O.*)

[2] Caxton (Polycron.), following Walsingham and Otterbourne, states that the other chaplain of King Richard, who was executed with Maudeleyn, was Master W. Ferby, or Fereiby; and he is correct, as a precept was issued to the Sheriff of Kent for the recovery of his effects. (Donat. MS. Brit. Mus. i. 4596, p. 150.) An alteration of one letter in the surname would account for the error. Our own chroniclers frequently mistook the given name. Caxton calls Maudeleyn 'Sir John,' and Sir Henry Green 'Sir John' also. It will be remembered that both Maudeleyn and Fereiby had been appointed by Richard executors to his will.

[3] Sir Bernard Brocas was constituted Comptroller of Calais,

Gascon knight; and the seventh, Sir (*Thomas*) Shelley, A. D. 1400.
formerly master of the household to the Earl of Huntingdon, upon whom God have mercy! It is a fact that all these seven lords were before the court until three o'clock after dinner, without the judges being able to find any reason to put them to death or to convict them. The King's justice told the Earl of Arundel that he might do with them as he had a mind, for there was not one of them who had deserved death; upon which the Earl of Arundel was so enraged that it was quite a marvel. When the judge had left the castle, the Earl said to the people, 'What will you have done with these fellows here?' They all cried out with one voice, 'My lord, put them all to death.' The Earl replied with an oath he would; and he said to Walden, who had been archbishop, 'Good man, my lord the King and the commons grant you your life.' 'I am much obliged (*said he*) to the King, and to you.'[1] The Bishop of Carlisle and the Abbot of Westminster were sent back to prison, hoping for the

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17th February 1378-79 (Carte's Gascon Rolls), and was for many years Lieutenant of Windsor castle under Sir Simon Burley, the Constable. (Præstita in Wardrobe accounts.) He is mentioned as holding lands in Berkshire, and probably was the owner of the Brocas Meads at Eton. He had no doubt joined in the expeditions of the Black Prince, and was a witness to a declaration made by Bernard du Troy, a Gascon gentleman, on his death-bed, that he was the party who took John King of France prisoner. (Appendix to London Chronicle, 211.)

Sir Bernard Brocas had been one of the bail for the liberation of Valeran Count of St. Pol on parole at his marriage. (Carte's Gascon Rolls, 12 July, 3 Ric. II.)

[1] It must be recorded, to the honour of Archbishop Arundel, that he had the generosity to intercede with Henry on behalf of Roger Walden, who had supplanted him at Canterbury, and obtained his promotion to the bishoprick of London. (Webb.) The Archbishop petitioned Henry however that the damages done to the property of his see during his absence might be made good. Walden, who had been formerly Dean of York, and Chancellor, succeeded the Duke of Gloucester as Treasurer of England, and was Governor of the castle and city of Porchester. (Rot. Pat. 20 Ric. II. p. 2, 1st February.)

A. D. 1400. February. Execution of Sir B. Brocas, Maudeleyn, and others, at Tyburn.

favour of God. The four lords were drawn from the castle of London as far as Tyburn, the place of execution, which is two short leagues distant. Sir Bernard Brocas[1] was led on foot, escorted by four sergeants, between the other three, who were drawn as far as 'Chepe,' in the middle of the city, when it became as dark as night, and they could scarcely see. The mayor then ordered to be brought forty-four torches and four lanterns, and in this manner were they drawn as far as the gibbet. There were the three traitors hung, and afterwards cut down. They then questioned them as to who were of their party; to which no one answered but Maudeleyn, who sorrowfully asked the mayor of London, 'Alas! shall I be quartered?' The mayor replied, 'By no means, but you will be beheaded.' He then lifted up his hands, all tied as they were, and said, 'O Lord God, have mercy upon me! and blessed be God that I was ever born, for I die this night in the service of my sovereign lord the noble King Richard.'[2] Sir Bernard Brocas was the first beheaded; after him, Maudeleyn; and the third was Master John Darby, who never spoke a word, except to say his orisons and his prayers; and the fourth was Sir (*Thomas*) Shelley, who had been master of the household to the Earl of Huntingdon, to whom God grant true pardon, Amen!

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[1] That Sir Bernard Brocas was exempted from the degradation of being drawn and hung, was evidently owing to the remembrance of his former exploits. Henry allowed his eldest son William to succeed to his father's forfeited possessions, and his widow to hold the manor of Denton in Whorldale. (Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. IV. p. 1, and Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV.) The power exercised by the commons in these tragical events is very striking. At their request were these faithful servants of King Richard executed, although the judge had expressly declared he found no ground for their conviction!

[2] It will be observed that there is no acknowledgment of Richard's death, no addition of 'que Dieu pardoint!' by Maudeleyn.

Item. In the year thirteen hundred fourscore and nineteen, the twelfth day of March, was brought to the church of Saint Paul of London, in the state of a gentleman, the body of noble King Richard.[1] And true it is that the car was quite covered with a black cloth, having four banners thereupon; whereof two were the arms of Saint George, and the other two the arms of Saint Edward; to wit, Azure, over all a cross Or, between five martlets Or: and there were a hundred men all clad in black, and each bore a torch. And the Londoners had thirty torches and thirty men, who were all clad in white, who went to meet the corpse of noble King Richard; and he was brought to Saint Paul, the mother church of London. There he was two days above ground, to shew him to the people of London, that they might believe for certain that he was dead.[2] I pray God to have mercy on him and on all the departed. Amen![3]

A. D. 1400. King Richard's corpse exhibited in St. Paul's, 12th March.

END OF MS. ST. VICTOR.

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[1] In the illuminated copy of Froissart in the British Museum, (which it is understood was made for Henry the Sixth,) Richard's corpse is represented upon the bier with the arms crossed over each other; but, according to the testimony of Otterbourne and Sir J. Hayward, the whole body was soldered in lead, excepting the face from the forehead; and in an early MS. of Froissart in the Bibl. du Roi at Paris, the arms are not exposed. In that MS. the bier is represented as drawn by four horses, attended by four varlets.

[2] The words, 'for they required no other thing,' are interpolated by the copyist of the *MS. Ambassades*.

MS. Le Beau adds, 'For there is no truth in what they say in many places, that he is alive, in Scotland, or elsewhere.'

[3] In extenuation of the error of Lebaud, in Addendum, No. 1, where he states that Richard was interred at St. Albans, I would remark, that I have in my possession an anonymous Life of Richard II., published in 1642, by 'A well-wisher to the Common-wealth,' which states that Richard was buried 'at the church of the Friars Preachers at Langley, beside St. Albanes.' Richard had prepared his own monu-

Addendum from MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi (MS. Lebaud).

Opinion of the English that Richard died by voluntary starvation.

However, to conceal the treason of the English, their opinion is that he did not die in the manner before described, but that he died otherwise; that is to say, that when he heard of the death of his brother the Earl of Huntingdon, the Duke of Surrey, the Earl of Salisbury, and all the other lords, he was so wroth that he swore he would never eat again, and was four days, as they say, without food. When King Henry knew that he would not eat, he sent prelates to comfort him, and persuade him to eat. He confessed himself to one of them, who enjoined him as a penance to take food; but when he attempted to eat, he could not swallow his food, for the conduits of his body were contracted, and King Richard said he was come to an end, and he must die.[1] In this manner died King Richard, as they say; howbeit, many maintain with more reason that he died in the manner described in the last chapter; to whose soul God grant true pardon!

Amount found in his treasury.

When the noble King Richard was dead, and King Henry was peaceably seated on the throne, he wished

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mental statue, which reposed in Westminster Abbey by the side of his first queen, Anne, with the hands of the effigies clasped in each other. Henry the Fifth, on his accession, removed thither the remains interred at Langley. Whether he was actuated by motives of generosity, or whether solely by a desire to establish his succession, is a question which the reader must decide for himself.

[1] This account is evidently taken from Otterbourne. His words are: 'Ricardus, in castro de Pontefracto existens custoditus, cum audisset infortunium fratris sui Joh. Holland et ceterorum, in tantam devenit tristitiam, quod semet inedia voluit peremisse, et tantum dicitur abstinuisse, quod clauso orificio stomachi, cum ex post, consilio custodum, voluisset naturæ satisfecisse comedendo, præcluso omni appetitu, comedere non valeret, unde factum est, ut, natura debilitata, defecerit; et die sancti Valentini diem clausit supremum ibidem. Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima, quæ interjacent, à Pontefracto usque London deportatum fuit et ostensum, ea pars saltem corporis, per quod cognosci poterat, facies scil. ab ima parte frontis usque ad guttur.' (Scriptores Veteres, p. 229.)

to know the amount of King Richard's treasure. There were first found in his treasury nine hundred thousand nobles, which are worth eighteen hundred thousand scuti (escuz)[1] besides his jewels and his plate, which are worth as much or more; and there were found in the treasury of the Treasurer of England three hundred thousand scuti, which are worth a hundred and fifty thousand nobles, besides his jewels and his plate, which are worth as much or more;[1] besides the Queen's jewels, which her father the noble King of France gave her at her marriage.

Addendum from MS. 10212 3, Bibl. du Roi.

Here finishes the Chronicle of the noble King Richard.

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[1] King Henry, says Fabyan, 'found great riches that beforetime to King Richard belonged.' He then quotes the Polycronicon (which is nothing more than a translation from this chronicle) for different items; adding, 'So it should seem that King Richard was rich, when his money and jewels amounted to £700,000.' John Ikelyngton, one of the deposed King's chaplains, had in charge 65,946 marks, 4s. 4d. with many other goods and chattels, many of which he had disposed of as directed by Richard, and surrendered the rest to Henry before he assumed the reins of government. (Rymer, Donat. MS. i. 4596, p. 157, Nov. 6, 2 Hen. IV.; and Fœdera, viii. 162, 281. See also Archæol. xx. 124.) Hall's estimate of the wealth left by Richard is as follows: 'Richard,' says he, 'delivered all the goods that he had, to the sum of £300,000 in coin, besides plate and jewels, as a pledge and satisfaction for the injuries and wrongs by him committed and done.' (Chronicle, fol. v.)

By a payment of '4000 crowns (*scuti*) of the price or value of 500*l.* English money' to Sir Peter de Craon, knight, on account of his homage and vassalage, the value of the scuti would appear to be two shillings and sixpence each. (Devon's Issue Rolls, Easter, 22 Ric. II. 2nd May.)

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

Among the Records preserved in the late Treasury of the Exchequer in the Chapter House, Westminster, and in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, to wit, in the bundle endorsed 'Press of Fragments, No. 148. Essex. Inquisitions, &c. respecting a Conspiracy to dethrone the King, &c. 5 Hen. IV.' is contained as follows:

No. 1. Is a writ appointing commissioners to inquire into certain treasons and felonies.

No. 2. Finding that Matilda de Veer, Countess of Oxford, the Abbot of St. John's, Colchester, and others, had conspired to kill the King (Henry IV.); they were to be assisted by Queen Isabel, the Duke of Orleans, and the Count of St. Paul, who were to land at Ipswich or Orwell on the 28th December; and that they had caused the sign of a stag to be made and distributed, to induce the belief that Richard II. was still alive, and was about to return; and that Thomas, Abbot of Byleigh, knew and concealed the said treasons.

No. 3. Similar to the above, saying that Richard II. would enter England from the northern parts, assisted by the French, Scotch, and Welsh.

Appendix A. Nos. 4 and 5. Similar, besides criminating other persons.

Names of parties referred to in No. 4:

Matilda de Veer Comitissa Oxoñ
Galfr̃ Abbas Sc̃i Joh̃is Colcestr̃
Thomas Abbas de Byleigh
Ric̃us filius Joh̃is Beche
Will̃mus Blythe, Joh̃es Staunton Armig̃
Ric̃us Misteleigh ⁊ Simon Warde.

Names of parties in No. 5:

Matill̃ de Veer Comitissa Oxoñ
Galfr̃ Abbas Sc̃i Joh̃is Colcestr̃
Willm̃s Aylewy, Joh̃es Wrythook
Thom̃ Abbas Sc̃e Osithe
Thom̃ Abbas de Byleigh
Willm̃s Kylmyngton, Thom̃ Somt̃oñ
Rob̃tus Doloyne, Joh̃es Sumpter señ, Joh̃es Sumpt̃ juñ, Joh̃es Beche señ, Joh̃es Beche juñ, Ric̃hus Beche, Joh̃es Herst cōmonachus p̄dc̃i Ab̃bis Sc̃i Joh̃is ⁊ Willm̃s Dentoñ sit̃r cōmonachus ip̄ius Ab̃bis, Ph̃us ffytz Eustace, Willm̃s Blythe, Joh̃es Russell s̄viens, Will̃s Aylewy, Joh̃es Stauntoñ, Thom̃ Veel, Ric̃us Misteleigh, Joh̃es Ekleshale, Joh̃es Thorp ⁊ Simon Warde.

No. 6. The like, and that one Philip Eustace had said the northern parts had rebelled, because Henry IV. had been only elected King by the 'Villanos civitatis London.'

No. 7. Is a summons to William Wyrethorp only.

Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11. The like, implicating various other persons.

Names of the parties in No. 8, *concerned in the dilapidations, &c. of the Abbey of Renesby (Lincoln):* Appendix A.

Henry Kay nadgairs Abbe del dit Abbey
John de Boston moigne del dit Abbey.

No. 9. *Names of the parties:*

Abbas de Byleygh
Pħus fitz Eustas ⁊
Ricus filius Joħis Beche de Colchestr̃.

No. 10. *Names of the parties:*

Willm̃s Breton serviens Matild de Veer Com̃ Oxoñ
Abbas de Byleygh
Pħus fitz Eustas Armiger.

No. 11. *Names of the parties:*

William Dentoñ munk of y^e Abbeye of Seynt Jonys of Colcestre.

Confession of John Pritewell,[1] *at whose house the Earl of Huntingdon was arrested.*

No. 12. M^d that on the ferst Sonday of Clene Lenten last passed[2] ther was on at Bylee in gyse of a knyghte and sente for me John Pritewelle to come to hym thyder and seyde to me John Sire zoure mayster & myn and oure alder mayster our right lige-lord Kyng Richard greteht zou often tyme and derelithe wel & thanketh zou hyeliche of zoure grete trouthe that ye have contened zou inne to hym ward sithen he pted fro zou, and sori is & often

John Pritewell receives a message from King Richard.

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[1] John de Barrow, surnamed de Pritelwell, of Barrow Hall Manor, Prittlewell, near Leigh, Essex. (Morant's Essex, i. 305): called Prithwell, in Essex (Caxton, Additions to Higden's Polycronicon).

[2] Clene Lent. Pura Quadragesima, the first Sunday in Clene Lent. (Gent. Mag. vii. N.S. p. 2; Proceedings of the Privy Council, iv. 351; Fœdera, x. 564.)

Appendix A. hath been for the defese [1] that ze have so ofte tyme suffred for hym and for his brother of Huntyngdon yat was taken at zour hous and often tymes he prayeth ful hertely for zou to God that he wil kepe zou fro alle maniere defeses and that so specialy that I trowe yat ze and alle yat langeth to zou faren right moche ye betere for his prayere And of yat he sayde & swor be tweyne masses yat Ich and he hadde herd & by ye sacament of bothe masses yat the Fryday thre weke by fore Cristmasse last passed he ꝑted fro Kyng Richard out of a castel in Scotlond of which castel he tolde me ye name, but God is wot hit last nought in my mynde, and there he sayde he left hym on lyve and in good helthe & that he swor ful hyely & ꝑfered for to swere on Goddes body & usen hit And ther to Ich answered hym that Ich leved hym naught and that Ich wyst wel that [he][2] is naught a lyve ne naught myght lyve And zit of that he swore and ꝑfered to swere as a bove sayd that he & on sire Joñ Kyng yat was sire Harry P'cyes prest the which prest he sayde was slayn atte ye batayle with Sire Harry & that he and that prest comen to ye castel of Pomfret and wenten in & spoken with ye prest of ye castel & with a zoman of Roberd of Watertons the which zoman he that feyned hym so knyght sayde that zoman hadde ye kepyng of Kyng Richard in the same castel of Pomfret under Roꝺt of Watertoñ[3] and he and tho tweyn prestes & yat same zoman token Kyng Richard & ledden hym out of ye castel & setten hym on horse & yey iiiij ledden hym in to North humberlond & so in to an ile in the see & there they kepte hym longe in til tyme yat they hadden made the trete

The messenger left King Richard in a castle in Scotland:

with Sir John King and two others, had taken King Richard into Northumberland, and to an isle in the sea,

and made a treaty with the Scots for his reception:

[1] 'defese;' defeat, disappointment, or trials, from 'defaire.'

[2] Interlined in the original.

[3] 'Deinde (from Ledes castle) ad castrum de Pomfrete, ubi Robertus de Waterton fuerat custos, occulte deductus.' (Sloane MS. 1776. fo. 34.)

in to Scotlond that they wolden receyven hym & thanne was ye ordinaunce by the conseyl of Scotlond yat the Lord Momgomry shulde have ye kepyng of hym And to all yis Ich answerde al wey on. And oꝑ more he swor al yat he myghte & ꝓferede to swere on ye sacᵃment and for to usen hit that he hadde ihad thre lettres to hym self fro Kyng Richard fro the Cristemasse in to that Sonday & other thre lettres & thre tokenes to Quene Isabele with which he sayde that he had been thries atte here in Fraunce & in ye see & he sayde that she hadde be longe op on ye se in to Yngelond ward & for defese that she hadde so longe isuffred on the se she was the Monday to fore ye tyme that Ich spak with hym onsheped & al here hors in the sclus for to esen here & here hors in til ye wynd torned azeyn south,[1] & that he cam fro here in to Yngelond the Tewesday next after ye forseyd Monday. And to alle these poyntes Ich zaf hym al wey on answere. And oꝑ that he ꝓferede me to swere on to me that zif Ich wolde truste to hym yat he wolde bringe me with Kyng Richard other with ye Quene Isabele with inne thelk xv dayes suwynge ther op on. And ther to Ich answerde that Ich was impotent by syknesse & by poꝛte bothe that though he were on lyve Ich ne myghte do no servise to hym ne to here ne to non other. And oꝑ more he ꝓfered me hors and harneys & good inough by so that Ich wolde have igᵃunted hym to have come to hym & go with hym. to which Ich ne assented neꝑe ne to no manꝛe poynt that eꝑe he moved to me. and that wol Ich with ye help of God quite me as hit langeth to a man of my poꝑe astat for to done And there

Appendix A.

had received letters from King Richard, and taken tokens to Queen Isabel.

She had put to sea, but was forced back by stress of weather.

[1] She was the Monday before the time that I spake with him unshipped, and all her horse, in the Esclus, for to ease her and her horses until the wind turned again south.

Appendix A. as I here telle that he sayth in hys bille that Ich sholde have assented to ye Contasse of Oxenford & to ye Bisshop of Norwych and to ye Abbot of Seynt Jones & of Seynt Osythes for to have ireceyved the Kynges enemyes & to comforten hem & to strenketh hem in destruction of oure lige lord ye Kyng and ye reume, ther to with ye help of God Ich shal answere ye conᵃrie & ꝑven hit as hit langeth to a man of my poᵛe astat for to done ffor by the feyth that I owe to God and to ye Kyng & to my wedded wyf Ich ne herde neᵛe this matere imoved but hit were of him so feyned hym knyght and zit Ich ne wot wether yat he moved that matere in myn herynge other non but there as he sayth that Ich shulde have assented to any swych matere or to any matere he movede on to me with ye help of God Ich shal quite me in ye conᵃrie as Ich have by fore isayd And oᵛ more as touchyng the Contasse & ye Bisshop ye Abbot of Seynt Osythes trewlich & in good fayth Ich ne saw non of hem these vj zer last passed and more ne with ye Abbot of Seynt Jones sythen by fore Lammasse save at ye xij tyd at Rocheford, And that Ich neᵛe ne herde of hem ne of non of hem ne neᵛe comunede with hem ne with non hem ne with no manᵹe mene fro hem ne fram non of hem ne non betwexen hem ne non of hem & me and that with the help of God Ich shal al wey ꝑven as Ich have above sayde and after ye information of other trewe men yat Ich have lerned offe sythen that tyme he that pretende hym self a knyght hyght Wille of Blithe And zif hit semeth to my ligelord ye Kyng & to hys wys and worthi conseyl that I shulde have been in any manᵹe defaute by as moche as I arested hym nought when he spake to me of this matere [1][ne descoᵛyd hym naught]

The messenger, Will of Blithe, in guise of a knight.

Pritewell's excuses for not having arrested him.

[1] Interlined in the original.

In sothenesse Ich was syk at that tyme and ther was no man of myne with me at yat tyme but a page of myn, but netheles I wol putte me & al my good in hye & lowe in my lige lordes grace as touchyng that poynt. Appendix A.

And forther as I trowe myn unredy wyt ne wolde nought a served me that I ne shulde have ileved moche of hys materes nad [*ne had*] ye grace of God be that I toke hym with twey false lesynges,[1] ferst yat on was that he sayde he was brought op in Kyng Richardes houshold of a child and I knew wel ye con[a]rie a non as I say hym, that other lesyng was he sayde he was atte ye batayle with Sire Harry P'cy & there Sire Harry P'cy made hym knyght & no mo but hym, & he sayde that Sire Harry & he weren bothe iarmed[2] in Sire Harries cot armure the whych seyyng I wist wel was fals by trewe mē yat were at ye batayle that saw Sire Harry bothe quyk and ded. Pritewell charges him with two falsehoods.

No. 13. Simon Ward and another persuaded the people not to cultivate their land on account of the return of "the late King," being cognizant of the treason of Thomas and Henry Percy, &c.

No. 14. Pardon to Maud, Countess of Oxford, of all treason, &c.

No. 15. Confessio Aƀƀtis de Byleygħ.

I Thomas Abbot of Bylegħ knowliche befor Sire

[1] 'And, further, as I trow, my unready wit would not have served me, but that I should have believed much of his matters, had it not been that by the grace of God I found him out in two false lies.'

[2] In the original Record the *I* prefixed to the participle, in this and other instances, is written separately as a capital letter. The language, at this period, may be said to have been in a 'transition' state; the participial prefix being equivalent to the ȝe of the Anglo-Saxon, and the *y* of the Old English (which is used in No. 15).

Appendix A. Wiłł Cogsale, Elmyn Legat & to Thomas Makwillem Cor°ner of Essex y^t y y^e [1] forseyd Thomas nevere comunyd in yys mater that y schal sey save w^t Abbot of Seint Jonys of Colchestr̃ & with a man as y her̃ sey ys clepyd Wiłł of Blithe & in this maner y was browt yn, the weke beforne the Nativite of oure Lord y kam riding fro London, & up on y^e wey homward a man of y^e forsaid Abbottꝭ met wiy me & toke me a letter fro y^e Abbot preying me that y wolde come to hym to Colchestr̃ & there for to syng a masse in y^e forsayde Abbey, for there schold be al y^e jentylis of y^e contrey because of a solemne othe that y^e forsayd Abbot schold swere in declaracion of his chirche, & for this cause & for none othir y came thedir, and so hit happid y^t a jentilman that is clepid Beloyne & y^t man y^t is clepyd Wiłł Blithe & y stodyn at a wyndowe entring in to y^e chapełł of y^e forsaid Abbottꝭ, and happid the Abbot kam in to his chapełł & we folowyd hym ynne, ꝛ y^ere the Abbot axid him ziff he kowde tellyn us eny tydingꝭ, & he answerid he wold none tell till Candilmasse were come & goo save he saide he wold redyn to us a prophesie y^t was fal & schold falle hastly, & wiy that he toke oute a litil quayer of his bosim of papere & red yeron diverse yyngis of y^e wich y have no meynde of, save he saide y^t Sir Harry P'cy schold be slay upon a feld y^t was clepid Bereweke, & fro y^t time into y^e Fryday aforne the Sonday of Cleen Lentyn y hurd no more of hym no yowt God wote, & on y^e same Fryday he come to oure Abbey y^e houre by twyxt x & xj & axid fort speke with me & y sent for hym in to oure chambre to wetyn his wille, & he saide y^t y^e Abbot gret me well & feryirmore he preyd me that y wold sende aftir

Beloyne, Esq., and Will of Blithe.

[1] It should be remarked, that although it has been customary to print the y of y^t and y^e as a common y, it is by no means identical in the MS., the one being curved in the tail, the other straight, and inclining to the form of the Saxon þ (*th*).

Appendix A. John Pretilwell.

Jankyn Pretilwell & certefied that yer was a jentilman y^{t} was to London & wold come azen on y^{e} morow & preyyd him that he wold fuchesafe fort come speke with hym, and y^{e} forsaide John come on y^{e} Sonday to messe, & y^{e} forsaid Wiłł Blithñ came on y^{e} neyzt byforne yn gise of a kneyzt with a grete gylde girdil, & he saide y^{e} Erle of Northhumbirland had zeve hit him & conseilid him that he schold goo as a kneyzt & as his estate axid, And on y^{e} Sonday whan we had etyn we walkyd yn to y^{e} garden, yere he spake wiy John Pretilwell & afftirward altogedir, & y^{e}re he saide that King Richard was comyng owte of Scotlond & Queene Isabełł & y^{e}Duke of Orliaunse weryn yn y^{e} see[1] p^{r}posing to arme at Horwell, ϒ Glendo^{r} owt of Walis wiy a strong powere, & all yis pepil schold mete to gedir at Norh^{a}mton, & he was ordeynyd to awhaite upon hem wiy his frenschepis that he had gete in y^{e} contre y^{e} aboute, & also he saide he had a patent of King Riĉ ceele encelid to proclame as sone as yis pepil weryn come to knowyn that wich party wold hold wiy King Riĉ & wecħ nowt, also he wolde have borowyd of me an hors & y saide that y had none, & he wold have borowid of me a sper & othir arneys, & y saide y had none ne none wold lene thow y had to y^{t} purpose, & whā he had sopid y^{t} same Sonday he wente his way, & aftirward he sent to me by a letter & preide me to lene him iiij m^{a}rk, & y stode yn a grete wirouste for as moche as he swere so hindirly grete y^{t} al y^{e} maters afornsaide weryn soth[2] &

Will of Blithe in guise of a knight,

affirmed that King Richard was coming out of Scotland, and Queen Isabel from France;

that he had King Richard's proclamation.

[1] Queen Isabel and the Count of St. Pol were to invade the kingdom 28th Dec. 1403. Document No. 2.

[2] 'I stood in a great astonishment, forasmuch as he sware so vulgarly great (loud) that all the matters aforesaid were true.' Wirouste is a verbal from worry. There is analogously the German *wirren*, to quarrel, and wirrwarr or wirre, a disorder, confusion; Saxon, werigean, to provoke, to harass; they are little else than the Gothic form of γυρόω. Hindirly or indirly is, like a hind, boor or villein: there is, however, a remarkable similarity between

Appendix A. many othir wordis y^t^ beth nawzt now yn my mende y supposid he was a perilouse man & if hit happid othir than well he meyzt have desesid me & oure place, & sent him ij m^a^rk, & with ynne iij dayes oy^r^ iiij he sent azene fort lene hym ij m^a^rk & a paire of trussing coferis, & swere indirly in his letter y^t^ y schold wiy ynne iij dayes othir iiij have hit azene & ten tyme as moch̃ zif hit nedith, & so y sent him xx. s̃. Also y^e^ Abbot of Colchester told in conseile y^t^ yer were iij mē y^t^ he knew & to one of hē he toke a ring & chargid him that he schold go yn to Scotlond, & zif King Riĉ were on lyve he schold come azen wiy this ring, & as he told me he came azen al to Bery & y^e^re he was put yn preson, & y^e^ forsaid Abbot sent mayne prise to helpe him owzte and kame to him & browzt hī word that King Riĉ was on lyve And ferthirmore y^e^ forsaide Abbot tolde me touching the ryvaile of y^e^ Frenschmē & of King Riĉ owt comyng of Scotlond, & that y^e^ Cuntasse of Oxinford & othir certayne mē of y^e^ contre where ordeynyd for to resseyve hē & al y^e^ myzt and powaire y^t^ yey myzt, & he also told me that beknes of y^e^ contre scholdyn be hewyn doune as Blith told hym And also he told me that with his goode & with his meyzt he wold refresch̃ him to his power Also cause of my voiding fro my place was this A zeman of myne kame & aresid[1] me ouzt of my bed at mydneyzt and saide y^t^ y^e^ were iiij^xx^ mē ycome, of weche were v squieris w^t^ coleris y^t^ he herd sey y^t^ y^e^ were many fals harlott̃ ytake & mo schold be ar [*ere*] prime day, & for drede that y was ferid to have be take & desesid bodeli y woidede, And whā y^t^ Sir Williā Coggesale & Elmyn Legate[2] sent to me in place yer y was & saidin y schold

The Abbot of Colchester sent a ring to King Richard;

his messenger imprisoned.

Arrival of the French and of King Richard;

of eighty men, and five esquires, with banners.

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hindirly and the German *wünderlich*, wonderful, wonderly.

[1] From arisan, Ang-Sax., to arise.

[2] The names of the inquisitors appointed were, Sir Bartholomew Burghshire, Sir William Coggeshale, William Skrene,

come & be at my answere, I kam to him al redy, & God wote y mente none evill in no weise ne none untrowth to my lege Lord, & this same bille wiy all ye entirlinȳg y Thomas Abbot of Bile wrot with my owyn hand on Seint Albonis day in ye maner of Codham, and I ye forsaide Thomas Abbot of Bilegh for the conselmēt of yis articlis beforsaide aske mercye grace & pardon, ywrete with myne owyn hand & deliverid to Thomas Makwillem Coroner forsaide of Essex &c. Appendix A.

No. 16. William Blith admits his knowledge of the conspiracy of the Countess of Oxford and others, and petitions for pardon.

APPENDIX B.

Archives du Royaume, Paris, J. 649. *art.* 18.

Copie ou minute de la protestation que fist la Royne Dangleſ quāt elle fut ramenee Dengleſre q̃ combien que ces lr̃es de quittance que elle fiss aux Anglois, elle estant a Calais en leur puissance, en quoy elle appelle Henry Duc de Lencastre successeur du Roy Richart jadis son mary elle ne entent point par ce quil soit Roy Dengleſre ne successeur de son dit mari, mais a fait p crainte de retourner en Angleſ ce q̃ elle a fait.

Nous Ysabel de France Royne Dangleſre avons entendu q̃ un traictee du mariage qui fu pourple entre notre tres redoubte Seignr ⁊ pere le Roy de France pour nous dune part, et nr̃e ſs redoubte Seignr Richart Roy Dangleſre nagueſs trespasse sicōme on dit ⁊ nostre Seignr et mary dauſ part, nr̃e

John Doreward Elmyng, Legate, Robert Rigdon, and the Sheriffs of Essex and Herts. The date of their commission, 5th August 1404. Document No. 1.

Appendix B. Stipulation that Isabel should be returned to her father, free from all marriage ties.

dit Seign^{r} Roy Dangleterre ꝑmist & sobligea et auecqs lui nre cousin Henry Conte Derby & pluſs auſs grans seignrs du pais Dangleterre q̃ se le cas auenoit q̃ nre dit Seign^{r} le Roy Richart Dangleterre trespassoit de cest siecle auant le consumacon de nre mariage que estoit alors empeschie pour nre jeune age, q̃ eulx obligiez nous renderrions auecqs nos biens & joyaux a nre dit Seign^{r} & pere desliee de tous liens de mariage et auſs. Et depuis le cas est avenu ainsi q̃ on dit q̃ nre dit Seign^{r} et mari est alez de vie a ſpasseṁt avant nre aage de douze ans parfait, pour quoy nre dit Seign^{r} & pere a fait sūmer et requerir ꝑ pluſs fois nre dit cousin Dangleterre quil nous rendist et restituast ainsi q̃ tenuz estoit de faire. Surquoy ont este tenuz pluſs jourñ en France & en Angleterre. Et tant q̃ on mois de May derr̃ passe les ambaxiteurs & messagiers de nre dit cousin Dangleterre envoiez de ꝑ lui, a Lenlighen ꝑmisserent aux messagiers de nre dit Seign^{r} & pere quilz nous renderoient en la puissance de nre dit Seign^{r} & pere a lentree du mois de Juillet derr̃ passe ꝑmi ce q̃ nre dit Seign^{r} & pere leurs bailleroit lres de quittance teles q̃ entre elles furent cōvenues, et aussi feroient nos chrs et amez oncles les Ducs de Berry de Bourg^{ne} Dorleans et de Bourbon, et aussi quant nous serions a Boulogne ou en auꝰ chastel obeissant a nre dit Seign^{r} & pere nous leurs baillerons quittance de la restitucon de nre corps & de nos biens, la sōme de ij^{c} mille frans exceptee (en ce cas auctorisee ꝑ nre dit Seign^{r} & pere) Et quant nous avons este amenee a Calais les diz messaigers Dangleterre ont baillie la minute dune quittance quilz vouloient avoir de nous (ou ilz ont escript q̃ nous confessons q̃ nre dit cousin Dangleterre est successeur de nre dit ſ & mari le Roy Richart) lesquels mos sont plus larges & ꝑdessus ce qui est contenu ce quittance de

nr̃e diz Seignr ⁊ pere ⁊ de noz oncles desſs nõmez. et aussi quil nest .contenu es lr̃es de lauctorisation a nous donnee ꝑ nr̃e dit Seignr ⁊ pere qui ne le nõme pas Roy Dangleťre. Et ont dit q̃ se nous ne passions la dicte quittance en la maniere quilz lavoient baillee quilz nous remeneroient en Angleťre. Et en este la voix et renõmee notoire celle sur le pais. Et pur doubte de morte ⁊ de eschuer le ꝑil de honte ⁊ villenie qui vraisemblablement pouvoyent ensuir sur nous ⁊ nr̃e corps. leur avoit acordt ⁊ fait acorder nous estant a Calaiz en leur puissance ⁊ soubz laage de xij ans despourvue du conseil ⁊ aide de nr̃e dit Seignr ⁊ pere ⁊ auťs nos parens ⁊ ames. q̃ quant nous se serions a Boulogne nous leurs baillerions quittance selon leur minute. laquelle nous leurs baillons pour acomplir nr̃e parole ⁊ de ceulx qui pour nous ont promis de faire. En protestant q̃ ꝑ icelle nous ne tenons point nr̃e dit cousin Dangleťre pour Roy Dangleťre ne successeur du dit royaume de nr̃e dit Seignr ⁊ mary le Roy Richart. Et q̃ ꝑ chose qui soit escripte en la dc̃e quittance. nous ne entendons aucunem̃t complier la quittance bailliee par nr̃e dit Seignr ⁊ pere. ne lauctorization quil nous a donnee. Ainçois la voulons tenir en ses termes sans laugmenter ne diminuer. Et protestons de dire en temps ⁊ en lieu q̃ ce q̃ nous avons fait au contraire ⁊ augmente soit nul ⁊ quil ne doit faire aucun prejudice a nr̃e dit Seignr ⁊ pere ne a nous (tant ꝑ defaut de nr̃e aage ⁊ de auctorisac̃on cõme pour la paour ⁊ violence qui nous ont este fais) ançois q̃ nous avons este mise hors de Calais ⁊ de la puissance des Anglois. ⁊ par auťs causes justes ⁊ raisonables que nous entendons a dire. Et de ce nous Ysabel desſs nõmee vous requerons estre fait instrument ou instruments un ou plusſs pour valoir en temps ⁊ en lieu ce que raison donna.

Isabel protests that she gave the receipt under constraint;

that she does not acknowledge Henry as her husband's successor.

APPENDIX C.

MS. Harleian 1989. fol. 381. (Randal Holmes' Collection.) Entitled 'The Antiquitys, the Earls, the Bishops, &c. of the City of Chester.'

Several conjectural amendments have been made in the transcript: much yet remains very doubtful. The MS. is very corrupt.

1399. Anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi vicesimo secundo, Henricus dux Herefordiæ pausavit in Francia, et circa festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ levi manu Angliam recepit, quia absente pastore cum canibus lupus leviter in ovile ovium transcendit contra naturam tauri dispergere curiam, ut dixit jus suæ hæreditatis vendicaturus. Et Thomas Aurendell cum archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, cum eorum fautoribus, contra eorum juramenta venerunt. Omnes vispiliones, latrones, et qui antea fuerunt exulati, per adventum istius ducis ad pacem sine cartis regiis, sine nummo, sunt revocati; et universa castella fere per totam Angliam, diversis cautelis [*pre*]dictorum, ad opus ducis capta et occupata fuerunt. Convenerunt illi Boreales, et de partibus Lancastriæ, Derbeiæ, et Staffordiæ multi nobiles et in bellis audaces; ita ut tam manu forti per medium Angliæ transeundo, fideles quasi proditores insequentes, exercitus velut arena maris in dies crescebat. Demum in castello Bristollii Willielmus Scroup comes Wiltoniæ captus et decapitatus est.[1] Item Henricus Grene, Johannes Busshy eadem pœna interierunt, qui cum justo Rege tenuerunt. Abinde revertentes per Glosteriam, Herfordiam, Lemysteriam, Ludlow, cum Salopiæ appropinquassent, in eis exercitu ultra ducentena millia universorum, plures pravorum quam bonorum, fuisse

[1] Quia castellum de Caleys pro immensa pecuniæ recepta summa Regi Franciæ vendiderat. (Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle, p. 494, Oxon. 1684.)

referunt, sicque consimiliter versus Cestriam, que omnes fere odium contra Cestrenses habuere, Havoke super eam et ejus comitatum proclamato, transivit. Cum vero rumores de Rege Ricardo se non audivisse, nec manu forti resistere valuisse, eo quod universi fines Angliæ post eum abierunt, tunc quidam veritati æmuli, [*quorum*] nomina ad præsens referre nolo, se duci prædicto reddiderunt, et claves per verba obtulerunt, quia hi de nostro ovili non fuerunt. Præterea dux prædictus cum exercitu suo in vigilia Sancti Laurentii ad civitatem Cestriæ devenit, et Deus scit quo animo a civibus receptus.

Appendix C
Chester taken by Duke Lanc'.

Pace vero concessa, et ad altam crucem proclamata, ne occiderent, incenderent, seu spoliarent, nec quicquam acciperent, nisi victualia sibi et jumentis, proclamare fecit.

Isti vispiliones contrarium facientes, tam infra civitatem quam extra, magna spolia accipientes circumquaque totam patriam deprædaverunt et furtive sanctum abduxerunt vinum, quod excussis doliorum capitibus effuderunt; thesaurum vero et universa in terra abscondita usque[*quaque*] abstulerunt.

Anno etiam vero devastabant pecudes, senes et juvenes in campis et pascuis occiderunt, et ibidem quasi cadavera jacere permiserunt; scalas, cistas, herpicas, et alia utensilia agricolis necessaria in domibus, necessaria ruralibus, ubique combusserunt, et propterea maledictionem Dei incurrerunt, etc.

Quo in tempore caput Petri de Leigh judicio ducis sine causa est abscissum et super portam orientalem Cestriæ positum, cujus animæ propitietur Deus! et corpus sepultum in ecclesia Fratrum Carmelitarum Cestriæ.

Peter of Lyme. Vid. Book of Church Notes, 28 lib. E. 29.

In anno vero sequente communibus insurgentibus contra magnates propter tallagium, caput cum corpore sepelitur.

The Justice beheaded, and his head sett on East Gate, his body buried in Whitefreers.

Appendix C.

Eodem anno circa festum ad Vincula Sancti Petri Rex Ricardus in Hibernia, audiens insurrectionem ducis prædicti proditiose festinatam, diu per insanum consilium impeditus fuit, donec ejus adversarius totum regnum contra ipsum suscitaverat; tandem transmeavit et ad Carmarthyn[1] devenit in Wallia, dispersoque exercitu pauci cum Rege permanserunt.

A riseing of Cheshire men for K. Richard.

Habuit quidem Rex prædictus septem armigeros valentes et generosos de comitatu Cestriæ, et cuilibet eorum circa octoginta vernaculos electos specialiter deputatos, excubias Regis cum magnis securibus custodientes. Nomina vero eorum hæc sunt, Johannes de Legh del Bothes, Thomas Cholmeley, Rafe Davenport, Adam Bostock, Johannes Downe, Thomas Bestone, Thomas Holford:[2] isti vero signa regalia in scapulis, album cervum quasi resurgentem, deferebant. Albeis siquidem mala fama
in populo ventilabat; ob quam rem Rex innocens in odium suorum communium letaliter sine merito inciderat. Insuper, ut dictum est, cum Rex audiret de copioso exercitu ducis, et quasi mundus totus post eum abiit, media nocte, comitantibus solummodo quindecim de familiarioribus, secrete exivit ad castrum de Hardleigh, de Caernarvon, de Beaumaris, et de Conway, et in istis, nunc in uno, nunc in alio, præstolabatur. Mane assurgens senescallus domus regiæ inveniens eis Regem recessisse, virgam fregit deceptorie, et ut quilibet seipsum salvaret monuit; sicque dispersi fere sunt omnes: a Wallensibus spoliati, unusquisque cum labore ad sua remeabat.

Interea dux Regem audiens apud Conway præstolari misit legationem ut se sponte duci tunc senes-

[1] The MSS. Reg. 13. c. 1, and Sloane 1776, state that Richard landed at Cardech castle.

[2] John Legh of Booths, Thomas Cholmondeley, Adam Bostock, Thomas Bestone, and Thomas Holford, were excepted from pardon by Henry IV. on account of their attachment to Richard. Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. p. 7, m. 28.

callo jura hæreditaria et communibus secure præ- Appendix C.
sentaret.

Tunc mediatione præcipue archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et comitis Northumbriæ, et super sacrum Christi jurati quod Rex Ricardus staret in suo regali potestate et dominio promiserunt, et in hac conditione triduo postea ad eos spontanea voluntate se transmisit, et cum aliis conditionibus minime retentis se omnibus in nihilum redactis, apud castrum de Flint simul obmanerunt, tunc pulchra promissa defecerunt, quia suum dominum quasi captivum ut servum tractaverunt, sicque per Cestriam et ejus comitatum versus London properabant. Tunc quidem erant signa regalia, tam cervi quam coronæ, sub abscondito posita; unde creditur quod armigeri ducis Lancastriæ deferentes collistrigia quasi leporarii ad destruendum insolenciam missæ bestiæ, albi cervi per annum præsignati sunt quodam fautorum. Quo etiam anno in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli factum est parliamentum apud London, ubi intimatum est Regi pro ejus depositione, in quantis tam proceres quam plebeiani eum accusare disponebant: unum parliamentum intrare humiliter ut dictum est rogavit, et, corona regni super humo posita, Deo jus suum resignavit.

Eodem anno in parliamento Henricus primogenitus 1 H. IV.
Regis Henrici de Hibernia ductus, qui quidem Henricus per Regem Ricardum ibidem in secura custodia fuerat reclusus, ordinatus est hæres apparens regni, princeps Walliæ, dux Cornubiæ, et comes Cestriæ.

Anno M°CCCC°. quidam maleficus et rebellis cum Owen Glendor rebelleth and spoyleth the English garisons.
suis complicibus, Wallensium de genere Brittonum, cujus siquidem nomen Owinus de Glendore erat, fingens se jure progenitorum suorum principem Walliæ fore, villas Angligenas [*sic*] in Wallia, et Conway,

Appendix C. Ruthyn, Oswaldestre, et alias tam muratas quam nudas, spoliavit et incendit; quæ quidem terra Wallia tempore Regis Edwardi primi conquesta fore dinoscitur.

Blasing star. Circa eadem tempora stella comata apparuit in borialibus partibus Angliæ, quæ cometa scintillas vertebat versus Walliam; et quidam æstimant dictam cometam prænosticare bellum Salopiæ.

Stow sayeth it was 1402. Fo. 520. Eodem anno Reginaldus Grey dominus de Ruthyn, non longe a castro, dolo et fraude Wallensium et præcipue domus suæ, captus est et fere per biennium in arcta custodia positus, ultimo pro decem millibus librarum redemptus est.

Conway castle was surprised from Massy. Eodem anno quidam Wallensium, Willielmus ap Tudor, in die Parasceves, hora Tenebrarum, dolo et fraude, custode absente Johanne Massy de Padington milite capitaneo, castellum de Conway cepit.

Fertur siquidem in dicto castello, hora supradicta, tres Wallicos familiares et duos Anglicos custodes, aliis in servitio divino in ecclesia parochiali occupatis, remansisse; sicque Anglicis ab eis subdole occisis castellum venditarunt: parvo quoque tempore obsidio fessi, ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, treugis factis, et pace concessa omnibus, octo exceptis, in manum principis se reddiderunt.

Anno M°CCCC° iij°. circa festum Translationis Sancti Thomæ Martiris, die Lunæ sequente, videlicet sexto
Henry Percy Justice of Chester. idus Julii, Henricus Percy, tunc Justiciarius comitatus Cestriæ, venit per partes Lancastriæ cum parva comitiva, pacem exsilians intravit comitatum Cestriæ, ibique excitavit diversos in conspirationem contra Regem Henricum insurgere; factumque est populo credere Ricardum Regem superstitem fore,
Proclamations in Chester for K. R. II. quod proclamatum bis in Cestria, et in diversis foris comitatus ejusdem fuit proclamatum palam, ut qui eum videre affectabant, feria sexta scilicet in die

Sancti Kenelmi Regis[1] ultra forestam de Delamar, apud le Sondyweye, hora sexta convenirent. Fingebant autem dictum Regem Ricardum cum comite Northumbriæ et grandi exercitu ibidem convenire. Accelerabat quoque utrinque septus admirabilis multitudo desideratum ejus adventum intueri; cumque ibidem venisset, perspicua multitudo, præcipue bellatorum, affuit Henrico Percy, etc. Appendix C.

Henricus Percy, qui apud Whitchurch fuerat sepultus, in crastino die Dominico exhumatus est, ejusque corpus Salopiæ reductum, ne putaretur a populo vivus evasisse, positumque corpus prædictum nudum supra unam apicem in mola positam in conspectu transeuntium intuendum. Loquebatur siquidem Rex, ut sæpius ante initium belli Henrico Percy, 'Quasi vitio ego appello te in die Judicii de humano sanguine, me invito, perempto.' Die vero Lunæ sequenti dampnati sunt fideles quasi proditores: corpus dicti Henrici quarteriatum sive quadripartitum, unumque quarterium Cestriæ missum, diuque super orientalem portam civitatis pendebatur. Vide Stow, 523. The whole battell of Salop. A quarter of H. Percy set on Est Gate.

Thomas Percy, Ricardus Venables baro de Kinderton, Ricardus le Vernon baro de Shybrook, cum multis aliis, tracti, suspensi, et quarteriati sunt; deditque Rex gratiam et pacem universis, citius etiam metus quam amoris, etc.

Explicit tertia pars et finis.

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[1] 17th July. Calendar to an English Missal of the 11th century. Public Library, Rouen.

APPENDIX D.

MS. Bodleian. Dodsworth, 116. *fol.* 148.

" Of the landing of Henry IV. at Ravenspur after his banishment, in an old Chronicle in MS. in the keeping of Tho. Fawkingham, of Norhall in Leeds, Esq., and did sometymes belong to Kirkstall."

Dux Herdfordiæ dñs Henricus Lancastrie perpendens Regem (scilicet Ric. II.) esse in Hibernia de Francia rediens in Angliam pro jure suo hereditario conquirendo cum quadam navi in Holderness juxta Bridlinton 22 mensis Julii applicuit in Humbriam prope Ravenger, secum ducens venerabilem dominum Archiep. Cantuariensem nuper exulantem, dominum Thomam Arundell et filium et heredem Comitis Arundell cum centum fere hominibus bellatorum qui omnes pacifici per patriam transeuntes infra triduum venerunt ad castrum de Pickeringe cujus custodia a dicto Rege domino Comiti de Wildshire domino Willielmo de Scrope fuerat deputata; quod in primo adventu domini Ducis a subcustode castelli fuerat deliberatum, et capta ibidem seisina duorum dierum transiit ad castellum de Knaresburgh, quod et pari modo deliberatum est quamvis difficilius in parte, positisque in eisdem (*sic*) castello custodibus suis se transtulit ad castellum Pontefffracti. Ad eum confluxerunt magna multitudo generosorum militum et armigerorum cum suis stipendiariis de comitationibus Ebor' et Lancastrie, quidam sponte et quidam metu casuum futurorum verum tamen supest Dux Lancastrie dominus Henricus sic complacenter captabat benevolentiam dominorum, quod venerabilis Comes Norhumbrie cum suo primogenito domino Henrico Percy et eorum forti et copiosa

Henry Duke of Lancaster lands near Bridlington;

marches to Pickering castle,

to Knaresborough,

to Pontefract,

retinentia, dominus Radulphus de Neville Comes Westmerlandie, dominus de Willoby cum eorum retinentia in suum subsidium et obsequium convenerunt numero circa 30 millia virorum fortium juxta Doncastram numeratorum; et consilio inito dominorum discernunt se per turmas et quidam precedentes a dextris quidam a sinistris propter salvationem bladorum et propter victualia eis necessaria dominum Ducem concomitabantur. Appendix D. to Doncaster.

APPENDIX E.

(Reference to p. 179.)

Henry was favourably received in France by the royal Dukes, and a treaty of alliance was made between him and the Duke of Orleans, which was sworn to by the two parties and duly sealed.[1] A project of his marriage was also entertained with Mary the daughter of the Duke of Berry, twice a widow, first of Louis de Bloys, and then of Philippe d'Artois. Richard, fearing that this marriage might be prejudicial to him, dispatched the Earl of Salisbury to France with letters to the princes, dissuading them from the project; and in these letters he designated Henry as a traitor. The King of France, not wishing to displease Richard, thought it best to seek pretexts to defer the marriage. Henry had several times pressed the King and the royal Dukes on the subject; but what was his surprise, the next time he spoke to the King, to hear the Duke of Burgundy remark, 'We must not give our cousin to a traitor!' Henry changed colour, and said, 'Sir, I am in the presence of my lord the King, and I will answer to this. I never was a traitor, nor harboured any trea- The Duke of Lancaster in France.

[1] Monstrelet.

Appendix E.

son. If any one will accuse me of it, I am ready to answer him now, or when my lord shall please.' 'Not at all, my cousin,' said the King; 'I believe you will not find a man in France, nor any of the French nation, who will dispute your honour. The words which my uncle has told you come from England.' Henry kneeled before the King, and said, 'My lord, I believe you; and, as for England, God preserve me from my friends, and confound my enemies!' 'Calm yourself, cousin,' said the King, 'all things will turn out for the best; and, when you shall have arranged matters with the King of England, we will speak again of the marriage. Begin by sending to take possession of the Duchy of Lancaster; for it is the custom in France, and on this side of the Channel, when a Lord marries, that he should have the consent of his seigneur to his wife's dower.' The King then ordered wine and comfits, and they drank together in token of friendship.[1]

He is visited by the Archbishop of Canterbury;

In this state of mind Henry received the visits of the banished Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been residing at Utrecht,[2] and of his nephew Arundel, who had made his way in the disguise of a pilgrim to Valenciennes, and thence to Paris. Hall states, that the nobility, prelates, and magistrates sent the Archbishop to Henry, at the Hôtel Cluigny, Paris, 'desiring him to return, and promising all their aid, power, and assistance, if he, expelling King Richard as a man not meet nor convenient for so princely an office and degree, would take upon him the sceptre,

[1] Monstrelet.

[2] Leland, Collectanea. Peter de Ickham states the Archbishop went to Cologne, perhaps subsequently. A short account of Archbishop Arundel is given in the Arundel MS. 68, fo. 57, which formerly belonged to the priory of The Holy Trinity, Canterbury, of which society the Archbishop, Henry IV., and Sir Thomas Erpingham were members.

rule, and diadem of his native country, and first nutritive soil.' It is said that Henry, on receiving this application, remained apparently in deep thought as he leaned on a window overlooking a garden, and at length replied that he would consult his friends.[1] Froissart mentions, that the Archbishop procured from the Pope a bull against the conduct of Richard. Appendix E.

repairs to the court of Brittany;

The Archbishop accompanied Henry to the court of Brittany *incognito*, where they were well received by the Duke, who encouraged Henry to trust the Londoners, and assisted him with vessels, men-at-arms, and cross-bows. 'He gave the conduct of the expedition to Sir Peter de Craon.'[2]

sets sail from Vannes.

At length Henry's preparations being completed, he set sail from Vannes 'in three large vessels filled with men, under the command of the knight abovenamed.'[3] He was accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas son and heir of the late Earl of Arundel, Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Erpingham,[4] and Sir Thomas Rempston,[5] John Mowbray, Robert Waterton,[6] and Francis à Court, Esquires, and others.[7]

Sir Peter de Craon captain of his forces.

Sir Peter de Craon, Lord of Ferté Bernart, was the most disreputable character of the age. He had been sent by his cousin, the Duke of Anjou, ex-King of Naples, to fetch the money collected by the care of his wife the Duchess, who was then at Angers, but

[1] Froissart.

[2] Bertrand d'Argentré, Histoire de Brétaigne, Paris ed., 1618, pp. 600-601.

[3] Idem.

[4] Sir Thomas Erpingham built the gate at Norwich which bears his name, as an atonement for his heresy and attachment to the Wycliffites, and as a memorial for his contrition. (Britton.)

[5] Henry compelled Richard to appoint Sir Thomas Rempston constable of the Tower of London. He was drowned in a boat at London Bridge in the 8th of Henry IV. (Leland, ii. 485.)

[6] The will of Sir Robert Waterton, dated in 1420, from Metheleye (a seat belonging to Henry V, five miles from Pontefract), is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Dodsworth MS. 117.

[7] Monk of Evesham, edit. Hearne, 1729, p. 151.

Appendix E. the sight of the gold excited his cupidity, and he dissipated it in extravagance at Venice; which conduct was the cause of the death of the Duke. He was threatened to be hung by the Duke of Berry, and was fined 100,000 francs, and imprisoned in the Louvre until the amount was paid; but he was not the less well received at Court, where the splendour of his birth and his riches covered his crimes.[1] He subsequently assassinated the Constable of France, and was only pardoned on the intercession of Richard, according to the Monk of Saint Denys, or, according to Froissart, of the Duke of Brittany.

Sir Peter ought not to have been without gratitude to Richard, for he had recently given him a pension of 3000 scuti, equal to 50*l.* English money, per annum, for life.[2] The Duke of York also gave him on the 9th of June 1399, during the King's absence in Ireland, the manor of Havering-at-Bower for his whole life, with free ingress and egress.[3] The Duke styles him 'our very dear cousin;' but, in truth, this gift at such a moment appears calculated to compromise the Duke's character. Sir Peter remained in England until Henry was firmly established on the throne. His safe-conduct, in which Henry calls him 'our beloved and faithful,' is dated Oct. 28, 1399, and was to be valid till the Easter following.[4]

He had been formerly attached to the household of the Duke of Orleans, who had made him a present of armour for jousting, similar to his own, to attend the joust at Epergnay in 1389, which cost him twenty francs, besides four francs for its carriage thither. The Duke also made his lady a present of a diamond ring, the diamond of which cost twenty-eight francs.[5]

[1] Mezeray.

[2] Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. p. 1. 25 Oct. 1398. The value of the scutus appears to have varied, see p. 263.

[3] Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. p. 1.

[4] Rot. Franc. 1 Hen. IV.

[5] Aimé Champollion, Hist. des Ducs d'Orléans, i. 56.

Appendix E.

Henry at Calais, (?)

The Monk of St. Denys states, (but the fact must be received with suspicion,) that the English had collected a large fleet to aid Henry, which for three weeks awaited his arrival between Calais and Boulogne. The foreign author of the MS. Reg. 13. c. 1, and the Sloane MS. 1776, states, however, that he seized all the ships in the port of Calais, and obtained money from the Treasurer against his will. Polydore Vergil makes Henry land at Portsmouth, and Froissart states he landed at Plymouth. No doubt there were reports that he had landed in the western parts of England. Walsingham says, Henry did not take a straight course to land, but appeared first in one part of the kingdom, then in another, that he might know if any resistance would be made to him.[1]

lands at Ravenspur;

Fabyan, following our chronicler, makes Richard land at Ravenspur in the month of August. The Dodsworth MS. 116, fo. 148, in the Bodleian Library, which formerly belonged to Kirkstall Priory, gives us the most exact account of Henry's progress after his landing.[2] According to that document, Henry landed near Ravenspur in Holderness, between Bridlinton and Hull, on the 22nd July.[3] Henry must have landed at a still earlier date, as on the 27th of that month he had a conference with the Duke of York at Berkeley. The Harleian MS. 1989, given in Appendix C, states as follows: 'Henry Duke of Hereford remained in France, and about the feast of St. John the Baptist with little difficulty overran England, for, when the shepherd is absent with his dogs, the wolf easily leaps into the sheepfold.'

The Monk of Evesham[4] also states that he landed

[1] Ypod. Neust.

[2] See Appendix D.

[3] It is remarkable that Edward IV. landed in 1471 at the same place, on a similar errand.

[4] The Monk of Evesham is supported by the two MSS. before quoted, MS. Reg. 13. c. 1, and MS. Sloane 1776.

Appendix E. about the feast of St. John the Baptist (July 1st). Probably he made the land about that day, and hovered off the coast, to see what reception he would meet with, till the feast of St. Martin, July 4th, which is the date given by the Croyland Chronicle.

marches to Pickering castle,

From the Dodsworth MS. we learn that Henry marched first northward, to his own castle of Pickering, the custody of which had been committed by the King to the Earl of Wiltshire, but which was delivered up to the Duke immediately upon his arrival. Two days afterwards Henry marched to his castle of

to Knaresborough and Pomfret,

Knaresborough, which, although not without some difficulty, was likewise surrendered to him. Having placed garrisons in these castles, he marched to Pomfret castle, another of his baronial residences. Here he was joined by the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Henry Percy, the Earl of Westmoreland, and Lord Willoughby, with their retainers and a large number of the gentry, knights, and esquires of the counties of York and Lancaster — some from fear and some from affection, — with their stipendiaries, amounting, by the time he reached Doncaster, to thirty thousand fighting men; so that, by the counsel of some of the lords, in order to save the corn, and the more readily to find victuals and necessaries, they separated by troops, some taking the right and others the left. Passing southwards by his own castles of Leicester and Kenilworth, he advanced

to Evesham and Berkeley,

upon Evesham and Berkeley. At this latter place, the Duke of York, after a show of resistance, made an accommodation with Henry, as stated in the text, but on Sunday the 27th of July. Here he was joined by the Abbot of Leicester, the Lords Greystock, Roos, Berkeley, Seymour, and several others. Having committed to custody the Bishop of Norwich, Sir William Elmham, Sir Walter Boterly, Laurence Drew, and John Golofre, Esquires, who refused to join

in the general defection, he advanced upon Bristol, his army having increased to near 100,000 men. Bristol having yielded, he retraced his steps two days afterwards to Berkeley, Gloucester, Ross, Hereford (where he was joined by the Bishop and Sir Edmund Mortemer), and the following Sunday to Leominster, where he was joined by the Lord Charlton; the next day he reached Ludlow, and the day following Shrewsbury, where he halted one day. Appendix E. to Bristol,

At Shrewsbury he was met by Sir Robert and Sir John Alley, and others, sent to treat for the safety of the city of Chester. Here also he was joined by the Lords Scales and Bardolph, who had been stript by the Welsh. Leaving Shrewsbury, Henry proceeded to Price, and thence to Chester, where he arrived about the vigil of St. Laurence (9th August), and adds the Harl. MS. 1989, 'et Deus scit quo animo a civibus receptus;' which he might well do, for Henry beheaded Sir Peers Legh,[1] commonly called Sir Perkin a Legh, Chief Justice of the Principality of Cheshire (ancestor of the Leghs of Adlington), and placed his head over East Gate. Henry afterwards returned, and reduced Holt castle, where he is said to have seized immense treasure.[2] to Shrewsbury and Chester.

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[1] Richard's Cheshire guards, like all his other favourites, gained a complete ascendancy over him, and indulged in great freedom of speech towards him, a specimen of which the Chronicle of Kenilworth gives in the original dialect:

'Dycum, slep sicury quile we wake, and drede nouzt quile we live seftow: ffor zif thow haddest weddet Perkyn dauzter of Lye thow mun well halde aloue day with any man in Chester schire in ffaith.' (MS. Chron. of Kenilworth temp. Ric. II. in the possession of the Rev. John Webb.)

[2] The titles assumed by Henry on his return were, Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, of Lincoln, of Leicester, of Herford (*Hereford*), and of Northampton, Seneschal of England. (Formulare Anglicanum, p. 327.)

Appendix E. About this time he was joined by the Dukes of Albemarle and Surrey, the Earl of Worcester, Lord Lovel, and Sir John Stanley.[1]

APPENDIX F.

Character of Richard II., as drawn by the Monk of Evesham. (Ed. Hearne, p. 169.)

Translation.

He was of the common stature, his hair yellowish, his face fair, round and feminine, sometimes flushed; abrupt and stammering in his speech, capricious in his manners, and too apt to prefer and to follow the recommendations of the young, to the advice of the elder, nobles. He was prodigal in his gifts, extravagantly splendid in his entertainments and dress, timid and unsuccessful in foreign war, very passionate towards his domestics, arrogant, rapacious, and too much devoted to luxury; remaining sometimes till midnight, and sometimes till morning, in drinking and other excesses that are not to be named; grievously extorting taxations from his people every year of his reign, so that scarcely any year passed in which he did not get from Parliament grants of tenths and fifteenths,[2] or their halves, under pretext of repelling the national enemy, which were wasted on his extravagancies as soon as they reached his treasury. Yet there were two laudable features in his character: the one,—that he loved religion and fostered the clergy, especially the Black Monks; the other,—that

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[1] Monk of Evesham, and MS. Harl. 1989, fo. 381.

[2] The tenths and fifteenths were granted by distinct classes. See Hallam's Middle Ages, III. 54, 7th ed.

he endowed the Church of Westminster with rents to the value of 500 marks to pray for the health of his soul on his anniversary, although he is not buried there. On his soul may God have mercy! Amen. Appendix F.

Character of Richard II., as drawn by the Author of the MS. Reg. 13. *c.* 1. *fol.* 117 b. [1]

Translation.

King Richard was of the common stature, his hair yellowish, his face fair and rosy, rather round than long, and sometimes flushed; abrupt and somewhat stammering in his speech, capricious in his manners, and too apt to prefer the recommendations of the young, to the advice of the elder, nobles. He was prodigal in his gifts, extravagantly splendid in his entertainments and dress, timid as to war, very passionate towards his domestics, haughty and too much devoted to voluptuousness. So fond of late hours, that he would sometimes sit up all night drinking. Heavily taxing his people, scarcely any year passed in which he did not get grants of fifteenths or half-fifteenths, under colour of foreign purposes, which were consumed as soon as they reached his treasury. Yet there were many laudable features in his character: he loved religion and the clergy, he encouraged architecture, he built the church of Westminster almost entirely, and left much property by his will to

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[1] There can be but little doubt that both the author of this MS. and the Monk of Evesham obtained their histories of Richard II. and Henry IV. from the same original. In the subsequent parts of the Chronicle the author describes himself as an eye-witness to the events he relates. For proof of his being a French Chaplain in the suite of Henry V., but not unfavourable to Richard, see Appendix III. to vol. ii. of Tyler's 'Henry of Monmouth.'

Appendix F. finish what he had begun. He founded the Carthusian Monastery near Coventry, and the preaching Friars near his manor of Langley, to pray especially for the repose of the soul of his consort Queen Anne; and by his will bequeathed considerable sums to the Church of Westminster for the celebration of his anniversary in times to come.

Which King Richard in the meantime was first secretly brought from the Tower to Ledes in Kent, under the custody of John Pelham there; thence to the castle of Pomfret, where Robert de Waterton was governor, where he was without hope of any relief, and where, too, being seized with grief and sadness on account of the excessive slaughter of his friends, he could not be comforted, and having no comforter, he finished his last day, to wit, on the feast of St. Valentine.[1]

And how [he died] is quite unknown to us; some, however, are of opinion that he was miserably put to death by hunger, that is, that he was deprived entirely of all natural food until the day of his dissolution. Behold of what nature is this world's course, which in so short a time is so suddenly precipitated from on high with violence to the ground, and which from a lofty station rolls down suddenly into the depths! Respecting this world's fortune, and its sudden change, De Ferubi thus writes [in his] 'Virorum casus Illustrium,' The sudden changes of human affairs (as if they had been so many words of the Divinity) exemplify, shew, and declare unto us how unsteady and uncertain is every human happiness, which, though rendered pleasant for a time by the agreeable plaudits of its followers, its sweetness at last, more fleeting than the mutability of vernal flowers, is unexpectedly

[1] The Sloane MS. 1776 corresponds with this account, but wants the following reflexions.

changed by some unlooked-for hap into wormwood of the bitterest kind. And if to-day thou see a youth, hale in the strength of his blooming age, his pleasant countenance florid with colour, he will perhaps meet thee to-morrow broken by the weakening influence of some disease. Another man, famous for his ancestry, abounding in friends, accompanied by retainers, thronged on either side, carrying forth and bringing back with him a vast retinue, he, suddenly troubled by some mass of impending danger, is abandoned by servants, deserted by companions, and persecuted by his nearest [friends]. Another, again, abounding in the fulness of riches, and celebrated by all for the fame of his liberality, brilliant in distinctions, excelling in power, seated high upon the judgment-seat and happy, threatens the people, and is hurried away amid the clamour of condemnation; he is taken, by a sudden coincidence of things, to the same prison into which he had relentlessly thrust others.—To what end, I ask, was the comeliness of Paris, the beauty of Helen, and the præter-human symmetry of Absalom? What issue had the courage of Hercules, the strength of Achilles, and the unconquerable bravery of Samson? I ask, in fine, what fruits did the delicacies of Sardanapalus produce, the riches of Pygmalion, and the transcendently excellent glory itself of Solomon? Now all these have passed away unhappily with most fleeting swiftness, and have, not only by God's permission, but through His providence, issued in a wretched end. And in our times the God of Majesty hath in thunder decreed (which we have not only heard, but seen) that the most famous princes of this world, resplendent in apparel as in countenance, glorious in the circumstances of their birth, well secured by treaties, high-seated on their thrones, while they thought themselves firmly established on

Appendix F.

Appendix F. the pinnacle of happiness which they had gained, have fallen instantly with an unexpected rush from the summit of prosperity into the abyss of wretchedness. Now the cause of so great and so unexpected fall of illustrious and worthy men may be twofold; to wit, the misleading deceit of a flattering household, and the deceiving charms of flattering Fortune.

APPENDIX G.

Bodleian. Douce MS. 78. *fo.* 1.

Attributed to Lydgate.

Dame Fortune and her Wheel.

Dame Fortune with y^r face so bryzte,
þi lakynge is fuƚƚ dyssevyable;
He that wyƚƚ tryste to y^r symple myzte
Schall wel knowe thou arte unstable.

Thy course is ever movynge and mutable,
Therfore and we wylle done ryzt weele;
Let us be aƚƚ vertuysable,
Leste þ^t Fortune turne hur whele.

Aftur þ^t Kynge Richarde to dethe wes brozte,
Both Kynges and other of hye estate;
Hur owne dethe & his hathe bedere borte
Boþe ferre ago and also ryzte late.

For suche myschevys & oþer dyvers also
Y counsayll you me þynkyth ryzte weele;
Yn þ^e begynnynge þenke wel what ye do,
Lest in þ^e ende Fortune turne hur whele.

Oure Kynge þ^t^ regnythe nowe in his regalite Appendix G.
þ^t^ God send hym grace & goode governance ;
þ^t^ pece & plente be with us & jolyte,
And kepe hym & us fro aⁱⁱ comberaunce.

Save þis londe from aⁱⁱ myschaunce,
And graunte us grace ever to do weele,
And to fle from every sory chaunce
Of Fortune refe þat schal turne hur whele.

Explicit.

APPENDIX H.

Proclamation of Charles VI. to the English Nation, exhorting them to avenge the death of their King, Richard.

MSS. de Brienne, xxxiv. fo. 227; *Bibl. du Roi, Paris.*

Karolus, etc. Universis, etc. Salutem. Humanum est ac jure congruit et id pariter exigit et nobilitas ut homo homini subveniant[1] et compatiatur oppressio,[2] malefaciaque redondat quantum in se est et se subjacet potestati. Et quemadmodum dominus[3] suos tenentur tueri homines et subditos a noxiis deffendere, ita subditi dominos, postquam legitime meruerunt adjuvari revera et se pro eis opponere ubi cavere[4] deposcit obligantur, sed maxime rex regi debet amorem et benevolentiam exhibere ubi pre-

[1] subveniat. It should be remarked, that these MSS. are only copies from the original documents, and are frequently faulty copies. The original is not now amongst the archives. The question arises, Did Henry V., when at Paris, cause the destruction of the correspondence between Charles VI. and the Court of Scotland?

[2] oppresso.

[3] domini.

[4] causa.

Appendix H. cipue genere ac affinitate sunt proximi. Nos itaque alias intendentes molestias atque gravamina que carissimo consanguineo nostro ac gente et filio dilectissimo regi Ricardo cujus anime Christus indulgeat inserabantur plurimodi nostri tunc sint propositi atque voluntatis eisdem auxilium impendere ac destinare succursum sed continuo tot de anglis audivimus novitates ut non fuerit consilium nostrum propositum tunc exequi, quod si altissimo placuisset nobiles illos ac proceres ingenuos et alios de Anglis qui captionem sui domini atque regis dehincque mortem suam vindicare conati sunt, nobis suam impresiam promptius intimassent eis adeo subvenissemus et in taliter potentia fuissemus auxilio quod ipse filius noster carissimus et dominus Anglie naturalis ac supremus tam crudelis [1] inhumaniterque et simul ignominiose mortuus non fuisset nec dominationem suam ipse et heredes sui quoque pacte prodidissent qui pocius auxiliante vero que juste torquentibus est adjutor regni Anglie corona, in loco et persona qua debuerat in prius scita esset hisque tui vera successione competit dominium illud nunc imperium possident quia ut in veritate loquamur et parcere [2] cernentibus clare potest, ille qui modo regnum Anglie occupat, ante dictum sapientum judicio et proborum, nullum in eodem regno censetur jus habere nec eo potui debite quomodo quum ut tactamus notas causas quibus nati de marchis consanguinei nostri cari succedere debent consanguineus noster Dux Lancastrie deffinitus genitor principaliter [3] occupans nunquam sibi jus vindicavit aut titulum in dicto Anglie regno sibi attribuit vel reclamavit in aliquo. Qui si etiam jus quodpiam aliqua occasione habere debuisset aut etiam istemet usurpator per processum

[1] crudeliter. [2] parere. [3] præsencialiter.

quam tenuit et ex tam multiplicibus ab eo commissis criminibus omnino id perdidit que domino suo supremo suo principi atque regi tui cognitione germanus erat rebellionem prius novit atque seditionem, postquam violentes manus in eum jecit ac vita, ut aiunt, privavit,[1] quatenus regem inungi se faceret ac tandem dominio poteretur, spreto in hoc timore Dei et in omnium Anglorum fidelium spretum maximum et contentum ac jurium corone Anglie et jurium. Quas ob res incolas omnes Anglie subditos qualescunque deprecamur per quantum suum honorem caripendant veritatem que volunt sequi et suam fidelitatem demonstrare qualiter penitus ante suarum considerationum oculos ac eorum memorie reducentes mortes principum prelatorumque ac aliorum virorum sancte mentis necnon proceres Anglie tam multorum crudelitatesque et offensas eorum impensas domino naturali atque regi et juri corone, ut prefertur, manus ponant ad forcia et illum sepefati Anglie regni magnanimiter expellant invasorem dedecorantem evidenter ac provertentem notorie regni Anglie successiones hereditarias consuetas; nec a cæteris patiantur aut dissimulent ulterius fideles antedicti quod quantum et tale regnum in quo tot vigunt animi et supersunt viri fortes tante subiciatur tyrannidi oppressioni insollite quos decet pusillanimes non viriles que noxive faciant et procurant aut alias possethenus operantur ut strenui ac fideles quod corona Anglie antedicta que debet reponatur loco ac veris datur

Appendix H.

[1] It should be borne in mind, that, owing to the mental incapacity of Charles, this document was virtually a proclamation of the Duke of Orleans. It was written about three months after his son's marriage with Isabel. Since the Preface was printed the Editor has met with the following remarkable entry in the obituary of a missal of the fifteenth century, formerly belonging to Durham (Harl. MSS. 1804, f. 13 ^{b}): 'D. Richardus s'c'dus post cõquest. Rex Anglie. Henricus *Dux Lancastrie*. Alexander Rex Scottorum. In cap^{o} vi kal. April.'

Appendix H. heredibus et eis restituatur, ut est justum, et nos de modo firmo stabilique proposito nobis constet offerimus libenti ac volenti animo quandocunque idem Anglie habitantes volent, et in libertatem vindicare et ad justum verumque reddere dominium nosque debite duxerint requirendum et in auxilium avocare sic efficaciter et potenter invasuros ut tenemur quod eis cedet ad gaudium et nos nostrum fecisse debitum magnopere fatebuntur indubitantes, scientes quod tum ad Walliam novissimo armatam transmisimus si secure fuissemus gentem nostram ab amicis veritatis et heredum Anglie sequentium recipi de vera gratulanter et cum effectu, ut dicebat sortiari majorem multo potentiam misissemus mittereque parati semper sumus casibus antedictis. Datum Parisius die secunda Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexto.

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